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# HERMATHENA:

A SERIES OF PAPERS ON

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND PHILOSOPHY.



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# HERMATHENA.

## NOTAE IN THEOPHRASTI CHARACTERAS.<sup>1</sup>

### I.

P. 3, 3. In Prooemio, τί γὰρ δήποτε] τί ἄρα δήποτε Madvig.

4, 17. φῆσαι βουλευέσθαι] Imo φῆσαι βουλεύσεσθαι.

4, 21. τὰ μὲν σκέψεσθαι λέγοντες] Cf. Men. iv. 205. οἱ τὰς ὁφρῦς αἵροντες καὶ 'σκέψομαι' λέγοντες.

4, 28. ὕπως δὲ—ἐκείνου καταγνῶ (1. καταγνώσομαι) ἀποροῦμαι.

### II.

5, 13. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου—] Cf. ad Arist. Fr. 360. εἴ τις σε κολακεύει παρὼν (?) καὶ τὰς κροκύδας ἀφαιρῶν. Fr. 508. ἀνήσεις κροκύδα μαστιγούμενη. Herod. iii. 8. λαβῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκύδα.

5, 18. καίπερ, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος] Scribe καίτοι, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος.

5, 21. Ὅρθῳς deleri iubet S. A. Hirschig, coll. Aeschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 52. c. 49.

<sup>1</sup> Secundum H. E. Fossii Editionem Teubnerianam, 8 Parv. Lipsiae, 1858.  
VOL. VIII. B

5, 26. ἀκούοντος] ἄκοντος codd. ἄδοντος Cobet apud Hirschig.

5, 27. χρηστοῦ πατρὸς νεοττίον] Cf. Arist. Av. 767. πέρδιξ γενέσθω, τοῦ πατρὸς νεοττίον.

## IV.

7, 21. ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος] Cf. Philetaer. com. iii. 300, ἀγροίκως ἄνω γόνατος ἀμφέξει.

ταμείου] Lege ταμείου. Cf. Lucian. Rhet. Praec. 17. καθάπερ ἐκ ταμείου (1. ταμείου) προαιρῶν. Error solennis. Cf. ad. Char. vi. xi.

7, 26. ζωρότερον πιεῖν] Cf. Antiph. iii. 82. ζωροτέρῳ χρώμενον οἶνοχόῳ (οἶναρίῳ ἰ). Ephipp. iii. 329. κεράσας ζωρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς. Multo frequentius est εὐζωρος. Cratin. ii. 216. εὐζωρον (et εὐζωρότερον) κέρασον. Diph. iv. 402. Antiph. iii. 77. Eubul. iii. 268.

7, 27. λαθεῖν καταλέσας—τὰ ἐπιτήδεια] λαθεῖν κατολέσας—Madvig.

7, 28. τοῖς ἔνδον] i.e. τοῖς οἰκέταις. Cf. Char. xxxi. μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

7, 29. κόψαντος τὴν θύραν] Qu. κόψαντός τινος τὴν θύραν.

8, 5. Qu. ταῦτα (ἀπαιτεῖν) τῆς νυκτός.

8, 9. τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ παριῶν κομίσασθαι παρ' Ἀρχίου τοὺς ταρίχους] Qu. — δανείσασθαι — τοῦ ταρίχους. Modo enim praecessit τὸ τάριχος. Cf. Nicostrat. iii. 285. ἔπειτα τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ | πρὸς Ἀερόπην ἐλθοῦσα πέμψαι στρώματα | αὐτὴν κέλευε, φησὶ, καὶ παρ' Ὀκιμον (παρ' Ὀκίμου Cobet. qu. πρὸς Ὀκιμον) | χαλκώματα.

*Ibid.* τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ] Cf. Arist. Pac. 1155. χάμα τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ Χαρινάδην τις βωσάτω.

8, 12. ἦλους ἐγκρούσαι] Cf. Arist. Vesp. 130. ὁ δ' ὥσπερ εἰ κολοιοὺς αὐτῷ παττάλους | ἐνέκρουεν ἐς τὸν τοῖχον.

## V.

[10, 4, ed. Ussing.] ὕστερον ἔπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν θεωμένων] ὕστερον ἐπεισιέναι, ἢν' εἴπῃ τῶν τις θεωμένων Madvig.

## VI.

9, 4. κακῶς ἀκούσαι [καὶ λοιδορηθῆσαι] δυνάμενος Cobet.

9, 8. ἐν θαύμασι] ἐν θεάμασι coniecit Fustanus. Sed cf. Dion. Chrys. viii. p. 145. πολλῶν θαυματοποιῶν θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύντων.

9, 17. ἐχίνον] Cf. Arist. Fr. 251.

9, 18. γραμματιδίων] Imo γραμματειδίων.\*

9, 19. οὐδὲ ἄρα πολλῶν ἀγοραίων στρατηγεῖν (ἴσ. οὐδὲ παμπολλῶν, recte).

9, 22. τὰ ἰχθυοπώλια, τὰ ταριχοπώλια] Imo τὰ ἰχθυοπωλεία, τὰ ταριχοπωλεία, ut βαλανεῖον, διδασκαλεῖον, ταμειῖον, &c. Frequens hic error librariorum: cf. ad Char. II.

9, 23. τοὺς τόκους—ἐκλέγειν] Qu. τοὺς χαλκοῦς —. Cf. Arist. Eccl. 813. πωλῶν γὰρ βότρυς | μεστὴν ἀπῆρα τὴν γνάθον χαλκῶν ἔχων.

9, 26. μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ καὶ παρερρωγυῖα διαλεγόμενον] Cf. Plut. Gracch. 2. ὀπηνίκα τραχυνόμενον αἰσθοῖτο τῇ φωνῇ καὶ παραρρηγνύμενον. Arist. Ran. 412. χιτωνίου παραρραγέντος.

## VII.

10, 21. κωλύειν τοὺς παῖδας προμανθάνειν] Cf. Arist. Nub. 966. εἴτ' αὖ προμαθεῖν ἅσμι' ἐδίδασκεν (sc. ὁ διδάσκαλος).

10, 22. τοσαῦτα καὶ προσλαλῶν τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις καὶ διδασκάλοις] Qu. τοιαῦτα προσλαλῶν καὶ τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις —.

11, 4. οὐδ' εἰ τῶν χελιδόνων δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι λalίστερος] Deleatur ἄν.

## VIII.

11, 12. καταβαλὼν τὸ ἥθος] Lege μεταβαλὼν—cum Casaubono.

11, 15. πῶς ἔχεις περὶ τοῦδε εἰπεῖν καινόν;] πῶς ἔχεις περὶ τοῦ τι εἰπεῖν καινόν; Madvig. Qu. πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς τό τι εἰπεῖν καινόν; ita enim dicere solebant.

11, 24. ὥς Πολυσπέρχων καὶ (ἦ?) ὁ βασιλεὺς μάχῃ νενίκηκε.

11, 28. καὶ πολὺν τὸν ζῶμὸν (τὸν διωγμὸν?) γεγονέναι: cf. ἐζώγρηται paullo supra.

11, 29. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ σημεῖον (qu. σημεῖον καὶ) τὰ πρόσωπα.

11, 30. τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι] i. e. magistratuum. Cf. Thuc. iii. 28. οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι. Arist. Pol. v. 7, 8, et Demosthenem,

11, 31. λέγει δ' ὥς καὶ παρακήκοε] Qu. λεγέειν δ' (sc. οἶος, ut supra) —.

*Ibid.* παρακήκοε] Cf. Herod. iii. 129. παρακούσας τις—τοῦ—Δημοκλήδεος τὴν τέχνην. Cf. Arist. Ran. 750. παρακούων δεσποτῶν | ἄττ' ἂν λαλῶσι.

12, 12. περιστάσεις —] Cf. Char. vi. τῶν περισταμένων τοὺς ὄχλους.

12, 18. οὐ διημερένουσιν] Qu. οὐ οὐ (μὴ) διημερεύουσι.

## IV.

12, 26. τὰ δὲ κρέα—ἀλσὶ πάσας] Cf. Cratet. ii. 237. οὐκ οὐν μεταστρέψας σεαυτὸν ἀλσὶ πάσαις ἀλείφων; Arist. Pac. 1074. τοῖς ἀλσί γε παστέα ταυτί.

12, 30. τὸν κρεωπώλην] Imo τὸν κρεοπώλην.

13, 2. εὔ ἔχει] Glossema haec sapiunt.

13, 9. ἄχυρον] Imo ἄχυρα aut ἄλφита.

13, 10. τὰ χαλκεία] Imo τὰ χαλκία: cf. Arist. Fr. 9. 316.

13, 11. ἀρύταιναν] Cf. Arist. Fr. 383.

13, 12. καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι λέλονται ἀπιὼν κραγεῖν, 'Οὐδεμία σοι χάρις] Qu. καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτε λέλονται ἀπιὼν, 'Καλῶς, οὐδεμία σοι χάρις.'

## X.

13, 18. ἐν τῷ μηνί] Qu. ἐκάστῳ μηνί.

13, 22. χύτρον] Lege χύτραν. Cf. Arist. Ran. 985. τὸ τρύβλιον | τὸ περυσινὸν τίθνηκέ (l. κατέαγέ) μοι.

13, 24. οἶος μεταφέρειν] Fort. δεινός —. Cf. Char. xv. δεινός καταράσασθαι τῷ λίθῳ. Nisi omnino delendum οἶος.

13, 27. καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἱᾶσαι οὔτε συκοτραγήσαι] Qu. καὶ οὐδένα ἱᾶσαι —.

13, 28. συκοτραγήσαι] Fort. σῦκα τρυγήσαι.

13, 30. ὑπερημερίαν πράξαι] Fort. ὑπερημερίας πράξαι.

13, 31. τόκον τόκου] Cf. Men. iv. 322. ἀπῆριν τῶν τόκων ἔχων τόκους. Arist. Nub. 1155.

14, 1. μικρὰ τὰ κρέα κόψας] Anglice, *Having cut (chopped) the pieces of meat small.*

14, 7. ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν] Scribe ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Et sic Foss.

*Ibid.* καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἰωμένας] Imo — ἰουμένας (Angl. *getting rusty*). Ab ἰοῦν. Cf. Menand. iv. 235, οἶον ὁ μὲν ἰὸς, ἂν σκοπῆς, τὸ σιδήριον, | τὸ δ' ἱμάτιον οἱ σῆτες, ὁ δὲ θρήψ τὸ ξύλον (sc. σήπει).

14, 10. τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπολυομένους] Cf. Xen. Anab. iv. 5, 13, εἰ τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. et ad Arist. Vesp. 1158.

## XI.

14, 17. ἀνασυράμενος— τὸ αἰδοῖον] Confer epithetum ἀνασύρολις, Com. anon. iv. 631.

14, 29. προστὰς πρὸς κουρέιον] Lege προστὰς πρὸς κουρέιον. Cf. ad Pac. 1183. εἴτα προστὰς (προστὰς vulgo) πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Πανδρίονος, &c.

14, 30. μυροπώλιον] Imo μυροπωλεῖον, ut κουρέιον, βαλανεῖον, διδασκαλεῖον, &c. Cf. ad Char. vi.

15, 2. γελάσαι ὡς τερήσιόν τι πεποιηκώς] γελάσαι ὥσπερ ἀστεϊόν τι πεποιηκώς *dudum correctum est, sed neminem id recepisse iure queritur Cobetus.*

## XII.

15, 18. καὶ πρόθυμος δὲ ἐπιμεληθῆναι] *Malim καὶ προθύμως —.*

## XIII.

16, 7. παραγγέλλει] *Imo παραγγελεῖ. Ita etiam G. A. Hirschig.*

16, 10. βούλεσθαι διάπειραν λαμβάνειν] *Qu. βούλεσθαι δὴ πείραν λαμβάνειν.*

16, 12. ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα] *Qu. ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι.*

## XIV.

16, 23. καὶ ταύτην εἰσιέναι μέλλων] *Malim καὶ ταύτης εἰσιέναι μελλούσης. Cf. Thuc. v. 60, οὐπερ τὰς ἀπὸ (ἐπὶ ?) στρατιᾶς δίκας πρὶν εἰσιέναι κρίνουσιν.*

17, 5. ἡδύ γε τῶν ἄστρον (ᾔζει) et mox τῆς γῆς pro πίσεως Porson. Ipse commendo ἡδύ γε τῶν ἀγρῶν ᾔζει. *Cf. Cratin. iun. iii. 374, τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκὺ | ᾔζει.*

## XV.

17, 17. ὅτι οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδόμενα] *ὅτι οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδομένων Dubner et (γεύσαιο) Cobet. ὅτι οὐκ ἂν διδοῖτο τὰ γινόμενα (non datum iri ea quae debeant et soleant dari), Wyttenbach ad Plut. Mor. p. 86, A. ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δέχοιτο διδόμενα feliciter F. W. Schmidt.*

17, 23. προσπαίσας—τῷ λίθῳ] *Cf. Com. anon. iv. 697, μὴ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον—παίειν (παίειν vulg.) ἔχοντα καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον.*

## XVI.

18, 1. ἐπιχρωνῆν (?) ἀπονιψάμενος Pal. ἐπὶ κρήνην conj. Siebenkes. ἀπὸ κρήνης conj. Schneider. ἐπὶ κρήνῃ Madvig.

18, 2. περιφρανάμενος] Cf. Menand. iv. 101.

18, 6. παρείαν] Cf. Arist. Pl. 690.

18, 11. ἐὰν μῦς θύλακον ἀλφίτων (ἀλφίτην, litteris την suprascriptis, cod. Vat. ἀλφιτηρὸν Cobet.) διαφάγῃ (διατράγῃ G. A. Hirschig. Cobet.) Utraque emendatio proba est. Cf. Antiph. iii. 34. ἀγγεῖον ἀλφιτηρὸν κῶϊξ. Cf. Com. anon. iv. 612. ἂν μῦς διορύξῃ βωμὸν ὄντα πῆλινον, | κᾶν (ἦ;) μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἔχων διατράγῃ θύλακον, | ἀλεκτρυνὼν τρεφόμενος ἂν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας | ᾗσιν, τιθέμενοι (l. τίθενται) τοῦτο σημείον τινες.

18, 13. τῷ σκυτοδέψῃ] Imo τῷ σκυλοδέψῃ, ut apud Aris- tophanem ter legitur postulante metro.

18, 15. τὴν οἰκίαν καθάραι δεῖν ὥς et mox (p. 19, 3) περι- καθάραι codex Pal. τὴν οἰκίαν καθῆραι δεινὸς et mox περικαθῆ- ραι Cobet.

18, 17. κᾶν γλαῦκες—ἀνακράγωσι] Ita corrigit Foss. Cf. Menand. iv. 230. ἂν γλαῦξ ἀνακράγῃ, δεδοίκαμεν.

18, 18. 'Ἀθηνᾶ κρείττω' Meinek. Vind. Arist. p. 129. collata formula 'Di meliora!'

*Ibid.* ἴσ. οὕτω παρελθεῖν. Recte.

18, 20. οὐτ' ἐπὶ λεχῶ ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὴ μιαινεσθαι συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ φήσας εἶναι] Cf. Porphy. de Abstin. iv. 16. καὶ ἐπίσης μεμΐνται ὃ τε λεχοῦς ἀψάμενος καὶ ὁ θνησειδίῳν (ex emen- datione Cobeti).

18, 21. καὶ ταῖς τετράσι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑβδομάσι προστάξας— legitur in cod. Vat., ut monuit Cobetus V. L. p. 71.

19, 2. ἱερείας καλέσας] ἱερέα—recte G. A. Hirschig. Cf. Arist. Pl. 1182. ὁ δ' ἂν ἐκαλλιερῆτό τις | κάμει γ' ἐκάλει τὸν ἱερέα.

19, 3. σκίλλῃ ἢ σκύλακι κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν περικαθῆραι] σκίλλῃ καὶ δαδὶ—G. A. Hirschig, coll. Diphil. iv. 416, Προιτίδας ἀγνίζων κύρας—δαδὶ μιᾷ σκίλλῃ τε μιᾷ, &c. Lucian. Alex.

ii. 253. βιβλίον—καθαῖρον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰς γνώμας οὐχ ὑπὸ δαδὶ (οὐ δαδὶ Reitz.) καὶ σκίλλῃ καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις φλυαρίαις. Menipp. i. 466. περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἀγαγὼν ἐκάθηρέ τέ με—καὶ περίηγνισε δαδίοις (δαδὶ recte V.) καὶ σκίλλῃ.

*Ibid.* μαινόμενόν τε ἰδών] Malim μαινόμενον δὲ ἰδών.

19, 4. φρίξας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι] φρίξας τρις—Hirschig, coll. Theocr. vi. 39, ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δὲ, τρις εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον. xx. 11. Lucian. Alex. T. II. p. 253. Adde Lucian. Menipp. T. I. p. 466. μετὰ δ' οὖν τὴν ἐπωδὴν τρις ἄν μου πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποπτύσας, &c. Tibull. i. 2. 95. Mihi illud ipsum φρίξας corruptum videtur ex τρις εἰς.

*Ibid.* εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι] Malim εἰς τὸν κόλπον πτύσαι.

## XVII.

19, 12. ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς οὕτως με φιλεῖς] Lege—ὅντως με φιλεῖς. Cf. Arist. Nub. 86. ἀλλ', εἴπερ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας μ' ὄντως φιλεῖς, | ὦ παῖ, πιθοῦ μοι.

19, 19. ἡς οὐσίας τὸ ἥμισυ ἄπεστιν] — ἀπέστην cod. Pal. — ἀπόλωλεν Cobet.—ἀπέσβη F.W. Schmidt. Qu.—ἀπέθανεν.

## XVIII.

20, 13. τὸ ἰμάτιον—ἐκδοῦναι δεινός] — ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι (del. δεινός) G. A. Hirschig. Cf. Char. xxx. καὶ ἰμάτιον—ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι. xxii. ὅταν ἐκδῶ τοῖμάτιον ἐκπλῦναι (πλῦναι, Hirsch.).

20, 20. ἵνα φυλάττηται αὐτόν] ἵνα φυλάττῃ αὐτὸν recte G. A. Hirschig.

*Ibid.* μὴ — ἀποδράσῃ] μὴ — ἀποδρᾶ, Hirschig. Cobet.

20, 22. πάσον κατάθου· οὐ γὰρ σχολάζω πω πέμπειν, Μηδὲν — ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν σύ] ποῦ σοι καταθῶ; οὐ γὰρ σχολάζω πω, εἰπεῖν· Μηδὲν πραγματεύου· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔως ἂν σὺ σχολάσῃς συνακολουθήσω Madvig.

## XIX.

21, 1. δεινὸς καὶ ἔλκη ἔχειν —] Cf. Arist. Eq. 96. ἐγὼ δὲ κυλίχινόν γέ σοι καὶ φάρμακον δίδωμι | τὰν τοῖσιν ἀντικνημίους ἐλκύδρια περιαλείφειν. 907. Pl. 784.

21, 9. ἅμα πιὼν προσεργγάνειν] Lege ἅμα πίνων (*inter bibendum*) —. Cf. Char. xx. καὶ ἐσθίων δ' ἅμα διηγείσθαι ὥς, &c. Char. ix. ἅμα γελῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

## XX.

21, 20, sq. καὶ τὸ παιδίον —] Cf. Arist. Eq. 716. καὶ θ' ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι γε σιτίζεις κακῶς | μασώμενος γὰρ τῷ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐντίθης, | αὐτὸς δ' ἐκείνου τριπλάσιον κατέσπακας.

22, 21. καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια δὲ χρηστὰ μεταβάλλεσθαι] Annon—μεταναβάλλεσθαι ?

## XXI.

23, 1. Θουριακὰς—ληκύθους] Lege Θουριακὰς—cum Sylb. et Casaub.

23, 3. αὐλαίαν ἔχουσιν Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένους] Cf. Hipparch. com iv. 431. ἀλλ' ἡ δαπιδιον ἐν ἀγαπητὸν ποικίλον | Πέρσας ἔχον. Plaut. Pseud. i. 2. 14. 'Bellusta—tapetia.' Virg. G. iii. 25. 'Purpuraque intexti tollunt aulaea Britannii.'

23, 5. καὶ τοῦτο περιὼν χρᾶν ἀεὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις—ἐπιδείκνυσθαι] κιχράναι et ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι recte corrigit Cobetus. Cf. xxx. *fin.* καὶ παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων τοιαῦτα κίχρασθαι ἂ μὴτ' ἂν ἀπαιτήσαι, &c.

23, 14. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἀποδοῦναι (δοῦναι Vat. lege παραδοῦναι) τῷ παιδί ἀπενεγκεῖν οἴκαδε. Cf. Arist. Pac. 729. ἡμεῖς δὲ τέως τάδε τὰ σκεύη παραδόντες | τοῖς ἀκολούθοις

δῶμεν σώζειν. Ran. 1515. σὺ δὲ τὸν θᾶκον | τὸν ἐμὸν παράδος  
Σοφοκλεῖ τηρεῖν | κάμοι σώζειν.

*Ibid.* εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν] κατὰ τὴν—melius Pal.  
Sed praestat ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ —.

23, 23. στεφανῶν καὶ στεφανοῦντα ἀλείφειν Pal. στεφανῶν —  
ἀλείφω Coraes. Cobet.

23, 24. συνδιοικήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων] συνδιοική-  
σαντά τι ιδιοποιήσασθαι Madvig. συνδιώικήσασθαι τὰ τῶν πρυ-  
τάνεων nescioquis. Non male.

23, 29. τὰ ἱερὰ ἄξια (ἴσ. αἴσια, recte) καὶ καλά.

## XXII.

24, 5. ἐπιγράψας μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα] ἐπιγράψας μέλανι  
— Madvig.

24, 8. πλὴν τῶν ἱερῶν] Lege πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων.

24, 12. ὑποστορέννυσθαι] Lege ὑποστόρνυσθαι.

24, 17. ἐκπλῦναι] πλῦναι recte G. A. Hirschig. Cf.

xxx. καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι. xviii.

24, 19. προῖδόμενος] Fort. προαισθόμενος.

24, 20. τῇ γυναικὶ — προῖκα εἰσενεγκαμένη] τῇ γυναικὶ —  
προῖκα ἐπενεγκαμένη Cobet. Cf. Lys. xix. 14. τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα  
ἔλαβεν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένην. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 172. γαμεῖ  
γυναῖκα χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ. Lucian. Dial. mer. 4,  
§ 1. πέντε προικὸς τάλαντα (ταλάντων προῖκα recte Cobet.) ἐπι-  
φερομένην.

24, 22. ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας] ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς supplet  
Cobet. Qu. ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίδιδος.

## XXIII.

24, 29. προσδοκία (ἴσ. προσποίησις, recte) τις ἀγαθῶν, &c.

25, 6. δεινὸς λέγειν ὥς μετὰ εὐάνδρῳ (μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Cobet.) ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ ὥς αὐτῷ εἶχεν (οἰκείως αὐτῷ εἶχεν (Cobet.) cod. Pal.

25, 14. ἐξαγωγῆς ξύλων] Imo εισαγωγῆς, in fallor. Nisi de exportatione (ἐξαγωγῇ) ex Macedonia agitur.

25, 15. συκοφαντηθῇ περαιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν προσήκει] συκοφαντηθῇ περαιτέρω φίλος εἶναι ἢ προσήκει Madvig.

25, 16. ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ] Qu. ἐν τῇ σιτοδοσίᾳ.

25, 19. ἀγνώστων—παρακαθημένων] ἀγνώπτων — Vat. prob. Cobet. Recte. Cf. ad Arist. Ran. 926.

25, 22. καὶ ποιῆσαι δέκα τάλαντα] Qu. ὥστε ποιῆσαι—ι.

25, 29. ἐν μισθωτῇ οἰκίᾳ οἰκῶν] Cf. Xen. Conv. iv, 4. ἐν μισθωταῖς (οἰκίαις) οἰκοῦσιν. Athen. V. p. 212. D. ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἐκ μισθωτῆς οἰκίας ἐξιών.

25, 32. ξενοδοχίας] Imo ξενοδοκίας. Cf. Eur. Alc. 552.

## XXIV.

26, 9. μισθουμένους] Imo μισθοῦντας.

26, 14. τῶν ὑφ' αὐτόν τινι συντάξαι] Qu. τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ τινι ἐπιτάξαι.

26, 17. εἶσαι ἂν εἰσελθεῖν] Qu. εἰαν τινὰ εἰσελθεῖν.

26, 19. συντάξαι] Qu. ἐπιτάξαι et hic.

*Ibid.* τὰς ψήφους διωθεῖν] τὰς ψήφους διαθεῖν conj. Ast. Recte, opinor.

26, 23. ὅπως ἄλλως μὴ ἔσται] Cf. Arist. Av. 133. ὅπως παρέσει μοι — καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ποιήσεις.

## XXV.

26, 28. εἴ τις μὴ μεμύηται] Annon εἴ τις μεμύηται? Confer Aristophanis locum Pac. 276. ἀλλ', εἴ τις ὕμῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ τυγχάνει | μεμνημένος, νῦν ἐστὶν εὐξασθαι καλὸν, &c. Ubi schol. δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἱ μεμνημένοι ταῦτα δίκαιοί τε εἶναι καὶ ἐκ δεινῶν σώζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ χειμῶνων.

27, 18. τοῦ σαλπιστοῦ] Annon τοῦ σαλπιγκτοῦ ?

27, 19. οὐκ ἔάσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὕπνου λαβεῖν] ὕπνον pro ὕπνου corrigit Cobetus, coll. Char. vii. ὅπως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὕπνος λάβῃ. Soph. Phil. 767. λαμβάνει γὰρ οὖν | ὕπνος με. Plat. Conv. p. 223 B. Alex. com. iii. 511. Anglice, *to get any sleep*.

27, 27. ἐκόμισεν] Qu. κομίσειεν.

## XXVI.

28, 24. λεπτὸς καὶ αὐχμῶν] Imo ἄλουτος —.

## XXVII.

29, 11. ῥίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον] Cf. Arist. Eccl. 507. ῥίπτετε χλαίνας. Act. Apost. xxii. 23. ῥίπτούντων τὰ ἱμάτια. Lucian. de Salt. 83. Aristaen. Epist. i. 26.

29, 12. τὸν βούν αἰρεῖσθαι] Imo τὸν βούν αἵρεσθαι, *sublimem tollere*.

29, 20. πεσὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεαγέιναι] Cf. Arist. Ach. 1180. καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθον πεσών.

29, 23. εἰς κόπους ἐμβάλλειν] Lege εἰς κόπους ἐμβάλλων.

29, 24. διατοξεύεσθαι καὶ διακοντίζεσθαι] Cf. Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 4. ἡ διατοξευσόμενος ἢ διακοντιούμενος.

29, 28. ἔδραν στρέφειν] Lege τὴν ἔδραν στρέφειν. Cf. Theocr. xxiv. 111. ὕσσα δ' ἀπὸ σκελέων ἔδροστρύφοι Ἄργόθεν ἄνδρες | ἀλλάλους σφάλλονται παλαίσμασιν. Arist. Thesm. 133. ὑπὸ τὴν ἔδραν αὐτὴν (ἐμοῦ) ὑπῆλθε γάργαλος. Nub. 1507.

29, 29. μελετᾶν ὀρχεῖσθαι] Cf. 29, 19. Arist. Thesm. 1179. ὀρκῆσι καὶ μελετῇσι (i. e. ὀρχήσεται καὶ μελετήσεται)· οὐ κωλύσ' ἐγώ.

XXVIII.

30, 18. *Qu. ὥσπερ (κύνας) αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς συνέρχονται (συνέρχονται etiam Cobet, Mein.).*

XXX.

32, 26. *φειδωνίῳ μέτρῳ]* *φειδωνείῳ μέτρῳ* Cobet, coll. Alciph. Epist. iii. 57, *φειδωλῷ (φειδωνείῳ Cobet) τῷ μέτρῳ κέχρηται (χρήται id.).* Strab. viii. p. 358, et Poll. x. 179, ubi vitiose *φειδώνιος* legitur. Verum videtur *φειδωλῷ μέτρῳ*.

33, 13. *ἔξω μισθῶσαι]* Fort. *ἐκμισθῶσαι*.

33, 15. *παρ' αὐτῷ ἀποθεῖναι]* Imo *παρ' αὐτῷ —*.

33, 19. *καὶ παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων τοιαῦτα κίχρᾶσθαι | ἂ μήτ' ἂν ἀπαιτήσαι —]* *κίχρασθαι* pro *κίχρᾶσθαι* Cobet. Cf. ad Char. v. 4.

33, 21. *ἀποδιδόντων]* Fort. *ἀποδιδόντος*.

F. H. M. BLAYDES.

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JUVENALIA.

I. 149.

Nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat  
Posteritas : eadem facient cupientque minores :  
Omne in praecipiti *vitium stetit*. Utere velis  
Totos pande sinus.

*Stetit* for *stat* seems a little awkward, although perhaps it is pregnant : 'come to a stand-still.' Nevertheless, the corruption in P, *stetis*, may indicate deeper corruption. I should like to read :

Omne in praecipiti *vitiumst. cia !* utere velis  
Totos pande sinus.

*Eia* or *heia*, with an imperative following, is a very idiomatic form of encouragement. Cf. Silius 12. 514, where it is found in the same position in the verse:  
*Eia ! incute muris Umbonem Iliacis.*

2. 169.

Nam si mora longior urbem  
Indulsit pueris, non umquam derit amator.  
Mittentur *bracae*, cultelli, frena, flagellum.

If *mittentur* in the last verse means 'will be sent as presents,' it is more likely that *bacae*, 'pearls' or 'beads,' is the true reading than *bracae*.

2. 647.

Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma  
Quis nescit ? vel quis non vidit vulnera pali ;  
Quem cavat assiduis sudibus *scutoque* lacessit.

I should prefer *contoque*. To harass a post with shield seems an absurd exercise.

9. 130 *seqq.*

Ne trepida, numquam pathicus tibi derit amicus  
Stantibus et salvis his collibus. Undique ad illos  
Convenient et carpentis et navibus omnes  
Qui digito scalpunt uno caput. *Altera maior*  
*Spe superest.* Tu tantum erucis imprime dentem.

This passage is discussed at length by Mr. Housman, *Class. Rev.* iii., p. 200. I do not feel the same difficulty as to *altera* that he does, but the passage would read more simple if Juvenal had written :

———— area maior  
spe superest.

‘You have a wider field than you imagine before you.’ *Area* might pass into *alia*, *altera*, from some reference to *uno*: and *spe* before *superest* would easily become *spes*. This metaphorical use of *area* is common enough: cf. *Ov. Her.* 1. 72: *Am.* 3. 15. 18; *Fast.* 4. 10. *Spe* with comparatives is common. As to the verse *Gratus eris tu tantum faucis imprime dentem* which follows in P, I express no opinion, save that it is either spurious, or (with *erucis*), a complete separate verse.

14. 210 *seqq.*

Talibus instantem monitis quemcumque parentem  
Sic possem adfari: ‘dic, o vanissime, quis te  
Festinare iubet? meliorem praesto magistro  
Discipulum. Securus abi: vinceris ut Aiax  
Praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.  
Parcendum est teneris, nondum implevere medullas:  
*Naturae mala nequitia est.* Cum pectere barbam  
Coeperit et longae mucronem admittere cultri,  
Falsus erit testis,’ &c.

*Naturae mala nequitia est* is the reading of P. and of Buecheler. I do not understand it. Later MSS. have *naturae mala nequitiae*, which is the vulgate adopted by Mayor: *mala* being nominative to *implevere*. But I venture to suggest that the true reading is to be deduced from the corruption in P. Read: *Natura aemula nequitia est*. ‘Vice is emulous by nature.’ This is a sentiment which suits the whole context. ‘You need not be in such haste to teach your children avarice. Spare their tender years. When they grow up they will do their best to equal you, and outdo you in your besetting vice. For it is in the nature of vice to be emulous.’ The only change here is the substitution of *u* for *a*.

## TIBULLIANUM, I. 6. 71.

Et mihi sint durae leges, laudare nec ullam  
 Possim ego, quin oculos appetat illa meos ;  
 Et si qui quid peccasse puter, ducarque capillis  
 Inmerito proprias proripiarque vias.

The MSS. variants are : vs. 1. *sint*. 2. *possum*. 3. *putat*,  
*putor*, *putet*. *ducatque*. 4. *pronas*. The only great difficulty  
 is as to the fourth verse. It should be rectified, it seems  
 to me, by writing

ducarque capillis

Inmerito propriis, proripiarque foras,

*Proripere* is joined with *foras*, Plaut. *Capt.* 3. 4. 1. The  
 genesis of the corruption seems this : the rhyme common  
 in the two halves of the pentameter caused *proprias* ; then,  
 as *proprias* wanted a noun, *foras* was changed to *vias*.

A. PALMER.

## CHARLES THE GREAT AND IRENE.

‘THE central event of the Middle Ages’ and the motives of the actors who were concerned in it, are far clearer now than they were in the days of Baronius. We may safely say that the clearing up has been chiefly due to the author of the *Holy Roman Empire*, and to the great Munich historian who has recently died. Mr. Bryce has once for all placed the coronation of Charles the Great in its true perspective ; in that respect there is nothing to add to his work, and nothing to take away. Döllinger showed<sup>1</sup> that while it was the hope and dream of Charles, and the aim of his policy, to obtain the imperial crown, he did not desire to usurp it ; he rather wished to come by some means to a friendly arrangement with the rulers and people of that imperial city in the East where had been celebrated all the coronations of successors of Constantine for more than three hundred years. Hence is explained the reluctance of Charles to take the imperial name at the precise moment which Pope Leo chose for the memorable act.<sup>2</sup> But although we are so much more enlightened than Baronius and many who came after him, every student who reads over the story, especially if he

<sup>1</sup> In *Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen und seiner Nachfolger*.

<sup>2</sup> The words of Einhard in the *Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 28, are emphatic: *quod primo in tantum aversatus est, ut adfirmaret, se eo die, quamvis prae-*

*cipua festivitas esset, ecclesiam non intraturum, si pontificis consilium praescire potuisset. Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis, Romanis imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magna tulit patientia.*

goes to the sources, will find abundant matter for doubt and conjecture. And if we turn from Western to Eastern Europe, and follow the story of Irene, we find more matter for doubt, new scope for conjecture. The purpose of this Paper is to set forth an hypothesis that will bring into one focus certain problems which puzzle us about the sovran of Aachen, and certain problems which puzzle us about the sovran of Constantinople.

It is clear that in the year 794 A.D. the relations between the Imperial and Frank Courts were not friendly. In that year befel the first great historical event witnessed by the Frank city on the Main. In that year prelates of Gaul, Germany, and Italy met in Franconofurt, and Charles himself presided over the gathering. The Fathers had to pass judgment on a heresy which had been promulgated in the land beyond the Pyrenees. At Toletum, which, once a Teutonic capital, had now to submit to the Mohammedan rulers who dwelled in Corduba, Bishop Elipandus preached a new doctrine as to the nature of the procession of the Son from the Father; and he found an ally in another Spanish churchman, Felix, Bishop of Urgellum. Felix, however, was not a subject of the Emir, who ruled at Cordova; his diocese lay north-west of Barcelona, within the limits of the Mark, which King Charles had reclaimed from the dominion of the Moslem. Both the bishop of great Toledo and he of less famous Urgel were condemned at Frankfurt, as they had been condemned before by lesser councils at Aquileia and Regensburg. But the assembly had to deal with the eastern as well as with the western peninsula of Europe; it had to pass from heresies preached beyond the Pyrenees to schisms which divided the lands beyond the Balkans. The chief work of the Council at Frankfurt was not to pass judgment on errors originating in a Moham-

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medan Emirate; it was asked to decide on doctrines which distracted the Roman Empire. It was called upon to consider the great question of image worship, compared with which Adoptianism was an obscure aberration. On this question a middle course was steered through a difficult strait. On the one side, like a Scylla, was the Council of Constantinople, which had condemned images (in 753), under the auspices of the Fifth Constantine; on the other side, like a Charybdis, was the second Ecumenical Council of Nicæa (787), which had condemned iconoclasm. Of these, the second danger was the greater, because it had the sanction of a Pope. But notwithstanding the authority which had emanated from the Tiber, the learned men who met on the Main condemned the council over which the Empress Irene and her son had presided. It does not concern us here to enter into the ecclesiastical details. For our present purpose the Council of Frankfurt interests us as indicating the spirit which prevailed at this time in the Frank kingdom, and especially in the breast of Charles, towards the Empire. This spirit is clearly brought out in the *Libri Carolini*, written under the inspiration of the king of the Franks, whose name they bear. This document, in which the controversial arguments used at Frankfurt are set forth in literary form, breathes a spirit of bitter animosity against the 'Greeks.' The supreme in the State, as well as the supreme in the Church at Constantinople, are charged with gross vanity and blasphemous arrogance; and the whole document strikes one as animated more by political rancour than by theological earnestness.

It is clear that the sovran who inspired the Council at Frankfurt had no friendly feelings at the time towards the sovran who had inspired the Council of Nicæa. Perhaps Charles had not yet forgiven Irene for her abrupt forbidding of the espousals which she had arranged between

her son Constantine and the Frank princess Hruodtrud. It seems clear, too, from passages in the *Caroline Books*, that at this time he had no thought of attempting to win that supreme title which was to be conferred on him in a strange way six years later. At the same time, it is clear that he was jealous of the princes who reigned on the Bosphorus, just because they possessed by indefeasible right, as he had to admit to himself, the title of Roman Emperors. In the *Caroline Books* we find protests entered against the official terms of the Roman court. The Franks, abasing themselves before heaven, affect to regard with horror the 'divine' epithets which were added to the names of the Roman Emperors. That they should be called *divi*, and that their acts should be called *divalia*—that seemed blasphemous to the Frank king, although Popes themselves used to conform to a pagan, but time-honoured usage. I have not space to follow the invectives of the Frank manifesto, but under all the pious arguments there lurks, it seems to me, much of the temper generally designated by the proverbial 'sour grapes.' Charles was beginning to feel the sting of jealousy. The greatest man in Europe, as he felt himself to be, he was still overshadowed in rank by a youth, who certainly was not brilliant, and by a woman. As yet he saw no way to winning that rank himself; the idea of usurping the title, and erecting a rival Roman empire, never occurred to him, nor would such a course have had the effect which he desired. Men would look upon him as an upstart if he were not acknowledged at Constantinople, and unity was felt to be an indissoluble addition of the Roman Empire. It would be interesting to know whether, thirteen years before, when he betrothed Hruodtrud, his daughter by Suabian Hildeberga, to the Roman child Augustus, Charles entertained the idea that, if this union took place, his son-in-law might admit him as a colleague in the Empire. This co-

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option of a father-in-law by a son-in-law as an Augustus might be paralleled by the co-option of a father by a son, which had taken place when the grandson of Leo the Great, destined to die before the year of his reign was ended, crowned his father Zeno. If Charles cherished such a dream, it was no wonder that when Irene refused to fulfil the contract he should have been deeply disappointed.

Between 794, then, and 800 the assumption of the imperial crown for Charles passed from the region of impracticable dreams into the number of things that could be done. I believe that the initiative came not from Aachen, nor from Old Rome, but from New Rome herself; I believe that the Augusta designedly smoothed the way for Charles to advance to grasp a Roman diadem and an imperial title.\* This may seem at first a strange theory; it may seem strange that the 'Western Empire' should have owed its origin to the intentional policy of a sovran who ruled over the Roman Empire, not yet 'the Eastern;' yet this hypothesis, I think, best explains the data.

The next event that concerns us now, after the Council of 794, is the blinding and deposition of Constantine VI. by the contrivance of his mother in 797 (August). Then the Empress Irene rules alone, without a male colleague either nominally or actually assisting. The Empire had certainly never come to this pass before. Never before had the men of New Rome seen the day when there was no Augustus, man or child, to preside in the cathisma of the hippodrome, to worship in St. Sophia, to receive the senate and the demes in the palace. Never before had

\* If Mr. Freeman's conjecture (*English Historical Review*, Oct. 1889), that the title of Patrician was conferred on Pippin with the consent, or at the instance, of Constantine V. prove correct, then the bestowal of the lesser title is the preliminary stage to Irene's design to bestow the greater title.

the men of Old Rome seen the day when there existed no male successor of Octavian and Trajan, separated from them indeed by lands and seas, indifferent, it might be, to their interests, but still their overlord, wearing the imperial crown, a Roman Augustus in Europe. The case of the Augusta Pulcheria furnished a parallel indeed to the early years of the reign of the Augusta Irene, when she acted for her son, who was not yet old enough to act for himself. But Pulcheria, acting on behalf of her brother Theodosius before he was adult, furnished no precedent for Irene reigning alone after the deposition of Constantine. It might be a nice legal question whether the Roman Empire could devolve upon a woman; but the public opinion of the Romaioi had on one occasion expressed itself clearly enough. An Augusta of the seventh century who, like Irene, formed ambitious projects, and schemed and plotted unscrupulously to carry them out, met once with a rough check in the hippodrome from some frank speaker. Martina, the second wife of Heraclius, tried to grasp the supreme power for herself, and would have fain overshadowed both her stepson Constantine and her own son Heraclonas. But a bold voice was raised when an Augusta attempted to magnify herself above an Augustus. 'You are honoured as the mother of the Emperors, but they as our Emperors and lords.' The significance of this remark is clear. The Romans regarded *Augusta* as a title of dignity, not as implying a claim to power or rule. A woman was considered unfit to discharge some of those duties which devolve upon a ruler. 'When foreign ambassadors,' they told Martina, 'come to the court, you cannot receive them or reply to them.' Men might concede that a mother or a sister should discharge the duties of a regent, with the help of councillors; but the youthful Augustus was always there to sit on the throne, and represent the Roman Empire. Martina was compelled to hear the indignant

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cry, 'God forbid that the Roman Empire should fall so low.'

But the irregularity, which was not tolerated in the case of Martina, was far more pronounced in the case of Irene. Martina wished to reserve her son in the background; Irene was ruling without a male colleague of any kind. The wonderful ability of the Athenian lady is shown by the fact that she maintained her abnormal position for more than five years—partly, no doubt, by playing off the ambitions of her courtiers against one another. But her position was extremely precarious, and she must have been fully conscious that it was so. She was a staunch champion of the orthodox faith, and this fact certainly was a strong support. But there was a large and important iconoclastic element in the army. Men who looked back to the glorious days of the Fifth Constantine and the Third Leo, and contrasted with those the recent days, in which nothing great was accomplished—these men could not look with complacency on the rule of an iconodulic woman. It was certainly an extraordinarily bold step for the Empress to place herself in a position so full of jeopardy, and I cannot believe that she would have taken that step without some adequate motive. With her son as colleague she was quite safe, and she had ample power. Her own ability and the weakness of Constantine enabled her to manage him. He was sometimes refractory, but he was really attached to her, notwithstanding her domineering ways and all she had done to despise him. She could not forget how, after her enforced retirement, he had restored her (792) to her former position, in defiance of the wishes of the army, and had used stern measures to constrain the Armeniac regiments to recognise her title. Surely it must have seemed more for her own interests to continue to share the supreme power with a feeble son, whose existence rendered her own position

impregnable, than to attempt to stand on an untried pinnacle, where it seemed highly improbable that she could keep a footing for long.

It seems strange that Irene should have decided to commit herself to a course apparently so impolitic, and place herself in such a perilous position. But when we take into account the circumstance that she could only reach that perilous place by most unnatural acts, her conduct seems stranger still. If Constantine had been prepared to abdicate the crown at her request, and withdraw to some remote country, one might think that, for her own safety, she would have hesitated to ask him. But in a case where it was necessary to depose her son violently, and even deprive him of eyesight, in order to render him incapable of ever assuming the imperial title, there must surely have been some unusually strong motive determining the mother to face the jeopardy. I, for one, cannot believe that her only motive was to be sole sovereign in the Palace of the Acropolis of Constantinople. I cannot believe that merely such an ambition prompted her to face the dangers which were sure to threaten the rule of an unsupported Augusta, dangers increased through the odium excited by such unnatural treatment of a son. Without some deeper motive not recorded by our authorities, not known to them, even the pious organizer of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, even the popular restorer of images, would not have persuaded herself to encounter such uncertainties and perils.

Irene was not an old woman in the year of the Council of Frankfurt. We may be sure she was young when Constantine V. selected her to marry his son, Prince Leo, in 768. If she were eighteen then, and she may well have been even younger, she was only forty-four in 794. A woman at this age might well feel a wish to have a lord to share her throne. She might well prefer a husband, whom

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she raised to be her peer, to a son who, however submissive she compelled him to be, had ere now proved refractory. And it surprises us, that when she compassed her son's deposition she chose no Roman Patrician to reign by her side. By such a course she would have avoided the dangers which threatened an Empress without an Emperor. The more we consider the whole drama from every point of view, the more convinced we may be that Irene would never have blinded and deposed her son, if she had not formed the design of supplanting him by a husband. To put an imaginary case—if Agamemnon had died at Ilium, and if Orestes and Clytæmnestra ruled together at Argos, is it likely that Clytæmnestra would abolish her son, unless there were an Aegisthus in the background?

On what favoured Patrician, then, did the choice of the august lady fall? On no Patrician certainly who dwelled on or beneath the Acropolis of Constantinople, for in that case there was nothing to hinder her from making the Patrician an Augustus, when Constantine was put out of the way. Would it surprise us if we were told that Irene contemplated giving her hand to one who was greater and more famous than any general or governor of her own, to one who ruled over a Christian realm larger than hers, though it was not the Roman Empire? Would it surprise us if Irene selected in thought for her future colleague a Patrician greater than any Patrician who waited on her in the imperial palace, and resolved to wed herself the father of the maiden who had been betrothed to her own son? The circumstance that no writer records such a resolve is no sound objection to the conjecture. For as that resolve, assuming it to have been formed and to have determined the conduct of Irene, was never carried out, the chroniclers were not likely to know anything about it. In such a design on the part of Irene there would certainly be nothing to surprise us. Throughout

Europe she could have discovered no more splendid match. The refined aristocracy of Constantinople might with some reason despise the Teutons of the West as barbarians, but if any of her ministers affected to include the King of the Franks under the reproach, Irene had every means of knowing better. From the Greek Elissæus, who had sojourned long at the court of Aachen, to teach the affianced bride of her son Constantine, she could learn what manner of man the great conqueror really was. The imagination of the young Constantine had been fired at the thought of marrying the German princess who lived so far away in North-western Europe; and it was hard to console him when he learned that the Lady Erythrô, whom he had never seen, was not to be his. It is easy to conceive that, as the form of Hruodtrud entered into the imagination of the son, the form of Charles may have crept into the imagination of the mother. It may well have been that the fame of a hero whose strength was beyond the strength of other men, and whose prowess equalled his strength; of a conqueror whose arms had been victorious north, and south, and east, and west; of a king who cultivated the arts of peace as ardently as he followed the pursuits of war—it may well have been, that the form of the lord who ruled in the *Urbs Aquensis*, beyond the Danube and beyond the Rhine, fascinated the fancy of the widowed lady who ruled in the imperial City.

Politically, as well as personally, for the Empress, as well as for the woman, such an alliance might seem to offer advantages on a splendid scale; such advantages as might have dazzled a contemporary, for even now they almost surprise an historian, when they come into his view. If the realm of Charles were united to the realm of Irene, the Roman Empire would again extend from the Phasis to the Atlantic; the Roman eagles would again fly on 'the shores of the Northern Sea'; the lands which be-

longed to Charles beyond the Rhine, the lands which acknowledged him beyond the Elbe, might partly compensate for the lands to the south, which Heraclius and his successors had lost to the Saracen invaders. Here was a prospect which might well dazzle the eyes of the Roman Augusta. Looked at from his point of view, it could hardly fail to allure the Frank king.

If we assume, then, that Irene conceived the design of sharing her imperial throne with the great Patrician of the West, her behaviour towards her son is completely explained. Without such a motive it is inexplicable. Constantine's disobedient conduct in divorcing Maria, the wife whom his mother had compelled him to take, and espousing Theodote in her stead (January, 795) may have finally determined Irene to bring matters to an issue. Before committing herself, she would naturally take care to arrange matters with the enemy whom she desired to change into a friend, and several messages probably passed between Constantinople and Aachen. Such secret messages we should not expect to find recorded in the chronicles, whether Frank or Greek. These embassies occupied time, and the final blow was not struck until summer, 797. On the 15th of August Constantine VI. was blinded, and ceased to be an Emperor; and then, for the first time in the annals of the two Romes, a woman reigned alone on the throne of the Cæsars.

We could not expect to hear of the messages which, on my hypothesis, were interchanged between Charles and Irene before the event of 797; but there is duly recorded in the *Annals of Einhard* the arrival, in 798, of an embassy from the Roman Court.<sup>3</sup> The men whom Irene chose to

<sup>3</sup> *Annales Laurissenses* (Pertz, i. p. 184), Aquasgrani palatium pergens legationem Graecorum a Constantino-poli missam suscepit. Erant enim legati Michahel patricius quondam Frigiae et Theophilus presbyter, epistolam Herenae imperatricis ferentes: nam filius ejus Constantinus imperator

conduct the embassy were Michael Ganglianus, a Patrician, and Theophilus, a priest of Blachernæ. Their duty was to inform King Charles of the deposition of the Emperor Constantine. It seems to me that this embassy is a confirmation of the hypothesis which I am seeking to expound. It certainly proves that friendly relations had been established between the two Courts since the *Caroline Books* thundered against 'the Greeks.' And if there was no understanding between Charles and Irene, why should the Empress have been at pains to send to a distant court news of an event which in no way concerned it? What was Constantine to Charles, or Charles to Constantine, except on the hypothesis which I propose?

So far we have been following the motives of the Empress; let us now turn to regard the motives of the King. Can it be supposed, it may be asked, that Charles was in any way privy to the machinations which Irene organized against her son? We may answer, that Charles might have accepted the offers of Irene, and yet have been ignorant of the unnatural part which she was undertaking to play. She could easily have represented her son as a worthless youth, highly unpopular, one whom his subjects would rejoice to dethrone, and this was actually the idea entertained in the West.<sup>4</sup> But even if Charles suspected that she was weaving some dark and doubtful scheme against her offspring, it was a great prize that she proposed to his ambition. She offered to raise him to the highest rank in the world, and to bestow on him the most precious symbol

anno superiore a suis comprehensus et excaecatus est. Haec tamen legatio tantum de pace fuit.

The *Annals of Einhard* add three points—Michael's surname was Ganglianos; Theophilus is *de Blachernis*; Constantine is deposed *propter morum insolentiam*. The clause as to the

purport of the embassy is peculiar to the *Ann. Laur.* It only proves of course what the ostensible purport was. As to *Patricius Frigiae*, I have no doubt that it means stratêgos of the Anatolic Theme.

<sup>4</sup> See last note.

of earthly authority. The successor of Constantine and Theodosius, he would be the lord of all European Christendom. When he consented that his daughter should cross the seas, and assume a Greek name, he cherished a hope that his influence would be extended into Asia—

*ut per natam regni vires tendantur in Asiam.*

And perhaps he even dreamed that he might himself be elevated from the rank of Patrician to that of Augustus. But now the chance was offered to him of being Emperor without a son-in-law for colleague; he might now dream of reigning in the city of Constantine, as well as in his own Aquæ.

In support of my hypothesis I would insist on three clear facts—(1) that in these years (between 794 and 800) Charles formed the design of becoming a Roman Emperor; (2) that he considered recognition of his title at Constantinople indispensable; (3) a marriage with Irene was openly proposed and negotiated after 800. It seems plain from the whole story, that it never occurred to Charles to usurp the imperial title: and usurping that title meant to assume it without the consent of the legitimate Roman sovran at New Rome. Döllinger thought that Charles negotiated with the Court of Constantinople to induce Irene to transfer the imperial crown to him. It is hardly possible to believe that he would ever have seriously demanded such a transference; he might, of course, have asked to be accepted as a colleague. But the sex of the sovran with whom he had to deal smoothed away the difficulties; a king and an Empress might easily marry Eastern and Western Europe, and make them an undivided Empire. And, as I believe, the proposal came from Irene.

In the year after that in which Ganglianus and Theophilus brought to Charles the tidings of the dethronement

of Constantine, a Saxon war claimed the presence of that monarch beyond the Rhine. In the same year, too, Pope Leo III., having escaped with difficulty from an attack of his enemies, journeyed northwards, to implore the son of Pippin to defend him, and restore him to his see. The Pope and the king met in Westphalia, at Paderborn, but it was not till the autumn of 800 that affairs in the north allowed Charles to cross the Alps, and restore order in Italy. The Pope returned to Rome a year sooner than his defender, but before he returned they conferred together on many matters. Doubtless the news which the ambassadors of Irene had brought from the citadel of the Bosphorus was discussed between them.

Here a new element appears; the plot thickens. Against the ambition of a king and the desire of a woman is set the craft of a priest. We learn from two sources<sup>5</sup> that Pope Leo applied in his difficulty to the Empress Irene, and received no help. The statement is in itself by no means incredible, for though the bonds which attached Old Rome to New Rome had been relaxed in the reign of the two great Iconoclasts, the orthodoxy of Irene and the gathering of the Seventh Ecumenical Council had renewed relations between the Pope and his sovran. As for the authority on which this application of Leo rests, neither the statement of the monk of St. Gall, nor that of the late Greek chronicler, Constantine Manasses, would have much weight, taken alone; but in combination they have very

<sup>5</sup> Monk of St. Gall, i. 26, and Constantine Manasses in his rhymed chronicle. M. Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, p. 281, drew my attention to these statements. He does not express a positive opinion as to their credibility. but he justly remarks, that public

opinion still considered the Emperor the natural overlord of the Bishop of Rome. 'Loin qu'il parût étrange que le pape portât son différend à Byzance, il semblaît aux hommes de ce temps extraordinaire que justice ne fût pas faite par l'empereur.'

great weight, because they are independent. It seems to me that we must accept this evidence, and conclude that Leo turned to the Augusta before he sought the presence of the Patrician. The refusal which his envoy met at Constantinople can have inspired him with no good will towards Irene, and he would certainly have looked with no favour on an alliance which, by drawing the king of the Franks into close union with New Rome, could hardly fail to draw him away from Old Rome. If Charles communicated to Leo, at Paderborn, any projects in regard to the imperial title, his spiritual father may have decided even then to anticipate the carrying out of them.

After the departure of Leo, Charles remained a few days at Paderborn, and there came to him three envoys from Michael the Stratégos of the Theme of Sicily, but of their business the Annals of Einhard do not inform us. We may suspect that the matter related to some joint operation against the common foe of Romans and Franks alike, against the Saracen pirates of the Mediteranean. In any case the embassy seems to point to a growing intimacy between the two great courts of Christian Europe.

In the year 800, at the beginning of June, Alemannian Liudberga, the wife of Charles, died at Tours.<sup>6</sup> Her death removed one obstacle which, however, would hardly have been found a serious one by a mighty monarch advancing to secure the imperial crown. The circumstance that Charles was married must not be alleged as an objection to my theory that he had for several years past contemplated a marriage with Irene. If Constantine VI. had been able to divorce his consort Maria and marry Theodote with the tacit consent of the Patriarch Tarasius, it would have been no hard task for Charles to compass a

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. Laur.*, p. 186.

divorce from Liudberga, even as he had before put away the daughter of Desiderius, and married Hildeberga. But when his queen died in the city of St. Martin his hope must have seemed nearer than ever to its accomplishment.

How Charles set out from Moguntiacum and crossed the Alps in the autumn, how he was received by the Pope, and how he was crowned and anointed Augustus on Christmas Day, I need not rehearse here. Competent critics agree that it was a surprise to Charles, and a surprise half unwelcome. The solemnity of the scene, the acclamations of the spectators, overcame the resistance which he was almost disposed to offer to the function which the Pope had taken upon himself to perform. This coronation was not that on which the King had set his hopes. The Pope, unquestionably, was the highest pontiff in Christendom; the city of the Tiber was venerable, sanctified by memories old and recent; but for all that, to be proclaimed Emperor in the Old Rome did not mean as much as to be proclaimed Emperor in the New, and to be crowned in the Church of St. Peter by the Pope did not give as clear a right to the title as a coronation by the Patriarch in St. Sophia. For the consent of the Senate of the Roman Empire was a necessary part of a legitimate election, and the Senate of the Empire was in no sense represented in Italy. The Senate of Rome was a mere municipal body. There can be little doubt that the newly created Augustus felt that he had still to make good his title. He was called *Imperator* on the banks of the Tiber; but if he were not called *Basileus* on the banks of the Bosphorus, his dignity would be little more than a farce.

But if the Emperor felt scruples, the Pope must have rejoiced in the success of his stratagem. He had now bound the king of the Franks more closely than ever to

his interests, and he had by the same act lessened the probability that the projected alliance of Charles and Irene would ever take place. For it was plain that the Empress must regard with suspicion and displeasure the independent assumption of the title and the crown which she had desired to bestow. Leo knew that it would seem to her an indecent usurpation, little less than a menace of hostility. He knew that at Constantinople Charles would be considered a tyrant who had arisen in Italy<sup>7</sup> and intended ultimately to sail eastward and grasp the true seat of the Roman Empire; for in men's minds at that time the Roman Empire and the city of Constantine were inseparable. Thus the Pope, I conceive, wished to estrange Charles from Irene, and to prevent the possibility of Eastern influence becoming dominant in Western Europe, which he regarded as his spiritual domain.

Meanwhile others were striving in the East toward the same end for which the Pope was working in the West. Roman Patricians were not likely to look favourably on the intrusion of a rival from Francia; and although the Empress doubtless kept her schemes as secret as possible, we must assume that they were known to her favourite the eunuch Aetius, who, for his own sake at least, could not be jealous of an aspirant either to the hand or to the throne of his mistress. But Aetius had a brother named Leo, for whom he was anxious to secure the crown; and it was therefore his policy to do all that he could to throw obstacles in the way of Charles.<sup>8</sup> The obstacle in the

<sup>7</sup> Gasquet has some good remarks on this aspect, *op. cit.* p. 285. Cp. Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, c. 28, 'propter susceptum a se imperatoris nomen et ob hoc quasi qui imperium eis praeripere vellet, valde suspectum.'

<sup>8</sup> I suspect that Stauracius, the rival of Aetius, may have maintained a place

in the good graces of his mistress, by advocating the marriage with Charles. I may here correct an oversight in my *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 479, where I say that Aetius desired to place Nicetas on the throne. Theophanes is explicit, that Aetius's candidate was his brother Leo.

East to the marriage of Irene with Charles was the interest of Leo, the brother of Aetius; the obstacle in the West to the marriage of Charles with Irene was the interest of Leo, the Pope. It is clear that the event in the Basilica of St. Peter must have been welcome to Aetius and his brother; they could now denounce the Patrician, who had proclaimed himself Augustus, as a tyrant and an undisguised enemy; they could say that he was openly false to his engagements with the Empress, and insinuate that he intended to come to dethrone her.<sup>9</sup>

But the new Emperor was determined to make his peace with Irene and to carry out the old project, as if the Pope had never intervened. There is no record of an embassy sent by him to Constantinople in the year 801, but it seems almost certain that some messengers were actually sent to explain to Irene that no usurpation or insult or hostility was intended by the coronation of Christmas Day. It was in answer to such a message, we may assume, that Irene despatched the Spathar Leo, who arrived at Aachen early in 802. His mission, contemporary *Annals* say, was 'to confirm peace between the Franks and the Greeks.' In answer to this embassy Charles sent Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, and Count Helmgaudd to Constantinople,<sup>10</sup> and these were the envoys who witnessed the deposition of Irene and the elevation of the First Nicephorus at the end of the year. The Frank annalists merely say that the ambassadors were sent 'ut pacem cum ea statuerent'; but the Greek historian, Theophanes, is better informed. He knew that the idea afloat was a marriage between Charles and Irene, and a union of the East and the West (ἐνῶσαι τὰ ἑῷα καὶ τὰ ἰσπερία); and he

<sup>9</sup> Monk of St. Gall, i. 28, 'sicut imperio.  
tunc fama ferebat, ne Carolus insperate  
veniens regnum illorum suo subjugaret

<sup>10</sup> *Einhard's Annals*, ann. 802.

says that Irene would have consented had it not been for Aetius, who was trying to secure the sovereignty for his brother. The words of Theophanes certainly imply that Pope Leo desired the proposed marriage;<sup>11</sup> but on such a point a statement of Theophanes is not worth very much. It is possible, however, that the authority of Charles may have extorted from Leo an unwilling consent to his plan; and the Pope may have been convinced that it could never be carried out. The dethronement of Irene cut off the hopes of Charles in this direction; but he never ceased throughout the reigns of her successor, Nicephorus, and his successor, Michael, to negotiate for a confirmation of his imperial title. A discussion of the relations between the two Courts between 802 and 814 must be kept for another occasion.

Whether my hypothetical reconstruction of the events before the December of the year 800 is right or wrong, the project of marriage in the year 802 is a distinctly attested historical fact. It marks a peculiarly interesting moment in the history of the Roman Empire—a moment when there was the chance that, if only for a short time, the Empire might again, in some directions, resume its old dimensions, and in others pass beyond the utmost limits which defined its measure when it was at its greatest. If Irene had conceded the imperial crown to a Frank lord, the Empire would have been more imposing than it had ever been since the days when Arcadius bestowed the title Augusta on his Frank lady. Gaul and Italy; Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhoetia; Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia; even the Agri Decumates, east of the Rhine; the islands which lie between Italy and Spain; a strip of Spain itself

<sup>11</sup> Theophanes, A. M. 6294, ἔφθασαν μὲνοι ζευχθῆναι αὐτὴν τῷ Καρόλῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες παρὰ Καρόλου πρὸς γάμον καὶ ἐνῶσαι τὰ ἔφα καὶ τὰ ἀποκρισιδριοὶ καὶ τοῦ πάπα Λέοντος ἐσπέρια. πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβεστάτην Εἰρήνην, αὐτοῦ-

—all these countries would have been gathered back to the imperial fold. And besides these, East-Franks, and Bavarians, and Saxons, and all the barbarous and wild nations between the Rhine and the Vistula, the Ocean and the Danube,<sup>12</sup> Slaves who were more or less subdued by Charles, would have acknowledged the same lords as Constantinople. Over Jazygia too, the land between the Theiss and the Danube, Charles seems to have claimed, by virtue of his Avar conquest, a sort of overlordship.<sup>13</sup>

Such would certainly have been the map of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the ninth century, if this marriage had taken place. But the Empire might easily have become much greater even than this. If the great Charles had found himself Emperor of the whole of Christendom, he might well have dreamed of recovering those Christian countries which had belonged to the realm of the great Constantine. If the strength of the Franks and the strength of the Romaioi had been united under one head, and that head he who had reclaimed the Spanish March, who can say that the fatal enemy of Christian Europe might not have been driven from the shores of Spain and from the shores of Africa; nay, driven even beyond the Euphrates and beyond the Red Sea. Had Charles been acknowledged at New Rome, he might have measured swords with Harun Alraschid, and expelled the Saracen from the Holy City. As he was only acknowledged at Old Rome, he maintained friendship with the Caliph, and tried to protect the interests of Jerusalem by diplomacy. In any case, we may be sure that the kingdom of Bulgaria

<sup>12</sup> Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni*, c. xv.

<sup>13</sup> Einhard, *ib.*, et *adpositam in altera Danubii ripa Daciam*. I believe that Einhard uses the name Dacia wrongly, and means not Trajan's Dacia, but the

land between Danube and Theiss. The idea of a northern Bulgaria on the Theiss has been fully refuted by Hunfalvy in his valuable work *Magyarorság Ethnographidja*, p. 167, sqq.

would have been subdued, and the province beyond the Danube which Trajan had conquered and Aurelian had resigned, the Dacia which in later days was to become part of a small Romania, might have been then made part of a large Romania by a Christian rival of Trajan. These things did not happen ; but they might have happened if Charles had assumed the imperial crown in a different way ; if he had received it, as Irene, according to my view, wished that he should receive it.

J. B. BURY.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPE*  
OF EURIPIDES.

THE texts which are here printed for the first time come from the papyrus fragments recovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie in the structure of Ptolemaic mummy-cases he exhumed at Kurob in the Fayoum. Of this discovery I shall give full details in the forthcoming *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy.

The papers found along with these remains of Euripides' famous play are dated in the early years of Ptolemy III., viz. before 230 B.C. As we have found no dates later than this reign in any of the cases, it is extremely improbable that the present literary fragments can be more recent; nay rather, the natural inference, that a play of Euripides would take longer than ephemeral documents would to turn into waste paper, is strongly corroborated by the character of the writing. From a palæographical point of view the hand is very old, possibly generations older than the company in which it was found. In any case we have before us part of the oldest known MS. of a Greek play.

There can be no doubt as to the identification. Not only do the passages recovered correspond strictly with the argument of the play given by Hyginus<sup>1</sup> and his enu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nauck's *Fragg. Tragg. Græc.*, 2nd ed. p. 411:—*Dircen ad taurum crinibus religatis necant* [sc. *Amphion* and *Zethus*] *Lycum cum occidere velent, vetuit eos Mercurius et simul jussit*

*Lycum concedere regnum Amphioni.* We learn from a schol. (ad Ap. Rh. iv. 1090) that the young men enticed Lycus under false pretences into the mountain.

meration of the actors, but one of the fragments quoted by Stobæus is evidently from ~~the~~ final chorus here partly recovered. The various philosophical saws, and the discussion on the relative merits of manual labour and of music, which made the play so celebrated in antiquity, all belong to an earlier part. We have the speech of Hermes, as *Deus ex machina*, and the reply of the tyrant Lycus, almost complete; and there seems room for nothing more than a few concluding lines of chorus, as is usual with Euripides.<sup>2</sup>

The text, though very well written, and easy to read where it is not maltreated by age and glue, is broken or effaced so as to leave much to conjecture. It is in very small capitals, the words are not divided, and there are no accents or stops. I have separated the words merely to save the trouble of printing a second copy of the text, but my divisions may not all be correct. In many cases the true reading was not seen by us till we had conjectured it, and then fitted it to the faint vestiges on the papyrus. Mr. Sayce and I did a great deal of this work during the first decipherment—of course the first comers reap the main harvest of these delightful studies—and M. Henri Weil, from an imperfect copy of the last column sent him by Mr. Sayce, made some brilliant guesses. But I thought his work should be kept separate from ours, and trust that when he reads the present paper he will have many suggestions to make. Then Mr. Bury filled up several gaps, and Mr. W. J. M. Starkie made a few suggestions. In this way we are enabled to present the precious fragments in such a form to the learned world as to save other scholars much preliminary labour. But

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 916 (Nauck) appears to be such an ending, and would suit this place very well.

we do not pretend that the work is complete, and trust to see the last column, at all events, completely restored by the ingenuity of those who shall find the truth where we are still at fault.

I now proceed to give a short commentary on the separate pieces before us. As can be seen from Frag. C., there were two columns on each page, making together over seventy lines. Fragments A and B, so far as their form goes, might belong to one other page, but a careful examination of their contents forces me to conclude that we have in them portions of different pages. It is not easy to say which of them should come first, and I at first thought that A spoke of the advent of Dirce in Cithæron, and therefore should come considerably earlier than B, at the close of which Lycus is announced. But Dirce (according to Hyginus) had appeared *as a Bacchanalian* in the mountain; had attempted the murder of Antiope through her sons; had been seized by them and tied to the bull, and killed—all of which a messenger had related, before the young men entice Lycus into the mountain by a friendly message. When he appeared, he was probably, after his first speech, drawn into an ambuscade by the young men. This is the subject of Frag. A, which *mentions his guards*, and his entering the house, where he was afterwards seized and bound. Then follows Fragment C. These are the reasons why I should perhaps have placed the fragments in a different order.

The right column of A seems to have been a *rhesis* refuting Antiope's claims that her sons were the offspring of Zeus. Such a speech might be spoken either by Dirce or by Lycus.

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ANTIOPE A.

[*Left Col.*]

ΑΣ ΗΔΟΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ . . . . .

— ΟΥΚ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΣ ΤΟΔ ΕΙΠΑΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠ ΕΣ.ΥΓ..

— ΔΡΑΝ ΔΕΙ ΤΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ Δ ΟΙΔ ΕΓΩ ΤΕΘΝΗ[ΚΟΤΑΣ?

— ΚΑΛΩΣ ΑΡ ΕΙΠΕΡ ΟΙΘΘΑ ΤΑΞΩΜΕΘΘΑ . . .

] ΑΛΛΗΝ Η ΔΟΜΩΝ ΣΤΕΙΧ[ΕΙΝ Ε]CΩ 5

] ΚΑΙ ΠΡΙΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΜ [ΕΝΟΙ?

] ΤΟΥΣ ΞΕΝΟΥΣ [

] ΔΟΥΦΟΥ[C] ΕΞΩ [

] ΝΤΑΙ . ΑΙ . . . ΟΙΝ Π[

ΗΜ]ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ CΥ ΘΗΣΟΜΕΝ ΚΑΛΩΣ 10

] ΗΘΟC ΕΙCΙΝ ΟΙ ΞΕΝΟΙ

] ΟΥΚ ΕΧΟΥCΙΝ ΕΓ ΧΕΡΟΙΝ

] ΦΡΟΥΡΟΙΤΕ ΠΑΝ? . . . ΠΕΤΡΑΣ

ΝΤΕC ΚΑΝ . . Κ . . . . ΗΙ ΔΟΜΩΝ

ΔΕ ΠΑΙΔΑΝ . . . . . ΕΜΗΙ 15

. ΔΙΧΕΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧ ΕΙCΕΤΑΙ

ANTIOPE A.—[*Right Col.*]

ΔΙΑCT

οιοC KHPY

K]AI Π[PIN] TA MEN CΦ[

ΟΥ ΙΕΥC ΕΜΕΙΧΘΗ[

20

ΤΙ Δ ΙCΤΑΝΕΙC[

ΙΗΝΟC ΜΟΛΟΥCΑ CΕ[

ΕΠΕΙΔ ΟΡΙΞΕΙ ΚΑΙ Δ[

ΑΥΤΗ ΤΕ ΔΕΙΝΗ[

ΠΑΙΔΑC ΤΕ ΤΟΥC Ι[

25

ΩΝ ΧΡΗC ΑΚΟΥΕΙΝ[

ΕΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΟΥΝΑΙ[

Frag. A (left col.), 2. The obelus at the opening marks that the speaker changes with each line. But for the cretic ending which results, I should read the line *ἀνθρῶπ' ἐς φύγην*.

3. The stop is after *τι*. The MS. varies as to elision; often both vowels are written, but in perhaps as many cases the elision is observed.

4 and 5. Perhaps *ταξωμεσθα νυν*

*ταξιν τιν' αλλην, &c.*

The rest of the passage seems to have been consultation how best to take measures for the capture of Antiope. The mention of going within some house or hut in the mountain, and the fact that the final chorus (Frag. C 4) mentions the seizure of Lycus within the house, make it likely that this Frag. refers to Lycus. If so, his first speech, which begins at the close of Frag. A, must have been followed (at some distance) by the dialogue before us, in which one of the young men, perhaps Zethus, poses as a guide in order to lead Lycus into the snare. Let the reader judge.

ANTIOPE B.

]ΔΕ ΜΗΔΕ ΟΠΩΣ ΦΕΥΞΟΥΜΕΘΑ  
 ]ΑC . . . CΕΓΕΝΝΗΣΕΝ ΠΑΤΗΡ  
 ]ΕΙ ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Γ ΕΧΘΡΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΤΕΙCΕΤΑΙ  
 ]ΚΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΙC ΤΟCΟΝΔΕ CΥΜΦΟΡΑC  
 ]Τ ΟΥΔ ΑΝ ΕΚΦΥΓΟΙΜΕΝ ΕΙ ΒΟΥΛΟΙΜΕΘΑ 5  
 ]ΗC ΝΕΩΡΕC ΑΙΜΑ ΜΗ ΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΔΙΚΗΝ  
 ]CΙΔ ΗΜΙΝ ΕΙC ΤΟΔ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΤΥΧΗ  
 ] ΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ ΤΩΙΔ ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑC ΦΑΕΙ  
 ]ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ CΤΗCΑΙ . ΧΕΡΙ  
 ]ΕΝΟΥΤΩ ΜΗΤΕΡ ΕΞΑΥΔΩ ΤΑΔΕ 10  
 ]Ο ΛΑΜΠΡΟΝ ΑΙΘΕΡΟC ΝΑΙΕΙC ΠΕΔΟΝ  
 Τ]ΟCΟΥΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΓΑΜΕΙΝ ΜΕ . ΗΔΕΩC  
 ]Δ ΕΙΝΑΙ CΟΙC ΤΕΚΝΟΙC Φ.ΛΗ  
 ΚΑ]ΛΟΝ ΤΟΔ ΑΛΛΑ CΥΜΜΑΧΕΙΝ ΦΙΛΟΙC  
 ]ΠΡΟC ΑΓΡΑΝ ΤΕ ΕΥΤΥΧ . . ΕΙΗ . ΗΝ 15  
 Ε]ΛΩΜΕΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΔΥCCEΒΕCΤΑΤΟΝ  
 C . . . ] CΕΙ ΧΡΗ ΔΟΞΑCΑΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΝ  
*Cho.*] . . . . .] ΛΥΚΟC ΠΑΡΕCΤΙ CΙΓΩΜΕΝ ΦΙΛΟΙ  
*Lyt.*] ΠΟΥC ΑΙ ΠΕΤΡΑΝ  
 ΔΡΑCΜΟΙC 20  
 ΤΙΝΕC ΔΕ ΝΑΙΩC ΔΙΩΝ ΤΕC ΕΚ ΠΟΙΑC . . . . ?  
 CΗΜΑΝ[Ι . . Τ . ΔΙΠΑ ΤΙΠΡΑC  
 ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΟC ΟΥΚ ΑΤΙΜΑCΑC

[Four more effaced lines.]

Frag. B can be placed with certainty. The conclusion of it is plainly the speech of Lycus when he first appears on the stage, and is introduced by a line of the chorus warning the previous speaker to be silent. The general sense of the passage has been determined mainly by Mr. Bury's sagacity. The speaker must be one of the young men (probably Zethus), as he addresses his mother in 10. He is calming her fears at the approach of the tyrant, and urging that if Zeus be really, as she says, their father, he will help them in their struggle. The argument seems to be—'let us not think how we shall fly, but how we may summon the father that begat us to help in avenging us. We cannot escape, for the fresh blood of Dirce will convict us of her murder. We must either win or die. And now appeal to Jove above not to indulge in amours with mortals unless he intends to help the children which result. It is ignoble not to stick to one's friends. Let him help us to compass the death of this hateful tyrant.' The announcement of Lycus's approach does not commence with *KAI MHN*, as is usual; but what the words are we cannot tell.

The following is Mr. Bury's restoration :—

] ΔΕ ΜΗΔ' ΟΠΩΣ ΦΕΥΞΟΥΜΕΘΑ  
 ΜΑΤΗΝ ΓΑΡ ΗΜΑΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΕΓΕΝΝΗΣΕΝ ΠΑΤΗΡ  
 ΠΛΗΝ ΕΙ ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Γ ΕΧΘΡΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΤΕΙΣΕΤΑΙ  
 ΙΚΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤ' ΟΥΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟCΟΝΔΕ CΥΜΦΟΡΑΣ  
 ΩCΤ' ΟΥΔ ΑΝ ΕΚΦΥΓΟΙΜΕΝ ΕΙ ΒΟΥΛΟΙΜΕΘΑ 5  
 ΔΙΡΚΗΣ ΝΕΩΡΕC ΑΙΜΑ ΜΗ ΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΔΙΚΗΝ  
 ΤΟΙC ΔΡΩCΙ Δ' ΗΜΙΝ ΕΙC ΤΟΔ' ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΤΥΧΗ

Η ΓΑΡ ΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ ΤΩΙΔ' ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΦΑΕΙ  
 Η ΤΟΙ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΣΤΗCAI ΧΕΡΙ  
 ΑΛΛΑ CΥ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΤΩ ΜΗΤΕΡ ΕΞΑΥΔΩ ΤΑΔΕ 10  
 ΚΛΥ' ΟC ΤΟ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΝ ΑΙΘΕΡΟC ΝΑΙΕΙC ΠΕΔΟΝ  
 ΖΕΥ ΜΟΥ ΤΟCΟΥΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΓΑΜΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΗΔΕΩC  
 ΣΠΕΙΡΑΝΤΑ Δ' ΕΙΝΑΙ CΟΙC ΤΕΚΝΟΙC ΑΝΩΦΕΛΗ  
 ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΤΟΔ' ΑΛΛΑ CΥΜΜΑΧΕΙΝ ΦΙΛΟΙC  
 CΩCΟΝ ΔΕ] ΠΡΟC ΑΓΡΑΝ Τ' ΕΥΤΥΧΗ ΘΕΙΗC ΟΔΟΝ 15  
 ΟΠΩC ΕΛΩΜΕΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΔΥCCEΒΕCΤΑΤΟΝ  
 ΤΟΙΟΝ ΔΕ CΟΙ ΧΡΗ ΔΟΞΑCΑΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΝ

4. The papyrus reads ΠΑΝΤΩΝ in this line, which is the great difficulty. For the position of οὖν, cf. *Heraclicæ*, 793.

8. Cf. *Helena*, 1090.

10. ΕΞΑΥΔΩ; imperative middle.

11. Cf. *Phoenissæ*, 84 sq.

15. For the optative and imperative jointly in a prayer to gods, cf. *Phoenissæ*, 586, 587. For πρὸς ἄγραν ὁδόν, cf. Eur. *Supplices*, 885, εἰς τ' ἄγρας ἰών.

The speech of Lycus seems to have opened with a remark that the ascent into the mountain after the run-away Antiope was troublesome. But it is too fragmentary for any certainty. Line 23 only is complete.

ANTIOPE C.—[*Left Col.*]*Cho.*]

NTAC WC MATHN ΛΟΓΩΝ  
 CΥ]MMAΧΟΥC ANΩΦΕΛΕΙC  
 IC AN ΘΕΟC ΘΕΛΗ  
 ΤΗΝ Δ ΑΝΑ CΤΕΓΗΝ ΤΑΧΑ  
 ΡΙΩΝ CΘΕΝΟC ΒΡΟΧΟΙCΙ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΟΝ • ΙΩΙ ΜΟΙ ΜΟΙ

5

ΑΕΑ

. ΑΙΔ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΑΝΙΩΝ ΧΕΡΕC

*Lyk.*] Ω] ΠΡΟCΠ[ΟΛΟΙ ΜΟΙ ΠΑΝ]ΙΤΕC ΟΥΚ ΑΡΗΞΕΤΕ*Cho.*] ΑΛΑΛΑΙΕΤ[ ]ΓΑ ΒΟΑΙ . ΑΝ . C . . Ω ΜΕΛΟC 10

Ω] ΓΑΙΑ ΚΑΔ[ΜΟΥ Κ]ΑΙ ΠΟΛ[ΙC]Μ ΑCΩΠΙΚΟΝ

ΚΛΥΕΙC ΟΡΑΙ Π[ ]Α . ΕΙ . ΠΕΡΑΝ ΦΟΒΕΡΗ

ΑΙΜΑΤΟC ΔΙΚ[ ].. ΧΡΟΝΙΟC ΑΛΛ ΟΜΩC ΕΠΕCΕΝ

ΕΛΑΒΕΝ ΟΤΑΝ[ ]Ν ΑCΕΒΗ ΒΡΟΤΩΝ

*Lyk.*] ΟΙΜΟΙ ΘΑΝΟΥΜΑΙ ΠΡΟC ΔΥΟΙΝ ΑCΥΜΜΑΧΟC 15ΤΗΝ Δ ΕΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΙCΙΝ ΟΥ CΤΕΝΕΙC ΔΑΜΑΡΤΑ CΗΝ*Lyk.*] Η ΓΑΡ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕΝ ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ΑΥ ΛΕΓΕΙC ΚΑΚΟΝΟΛΚΟΙC ΓΕ ΤΑΥΡΕΙΟΙCΙΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ*Lyk.*] ΠΡΟC ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟC ΥΜΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΛΩ ΜΑΘΕΙΝΕΓΜΑΝΘΑΝΟΙC ΑΝ ΩC . . . ΝΕΙC? ΩΝ ΥΠΟ 20...ΗΤΙΓ... Π]ΕΦΥΚ ΑΠΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΙΔ ΕΓΩΤΙ ΤΟΥΤ ΕΡΕΥΝ[Α]ΙC ΕΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΙC ΠΕΥCΕΙ ΘΑΝΩΝ

NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE 'ANTIOPE.' 47

*Hermes.*] ΕΥΩ                    ΟΝ ΕΞΩΡΜΩ[ΜΕΝΟΥΣ  
                                  Ξ ΑΜΦΙΟΝ            . ΜΑC ΔΕ CΟΙ  
                                          ΕΝΩ                    25  
                                          ΦΙΩΝ  
                                  ΕΓΕΡΩΠΟΝ  
                  Π ΑΡΝΗCΗ ΤΑΔΕ  
                  . Ν . . . . ΕΤΟ  
                                                                                  30  
                                  ΑΚΑ  
                                  ΜΑ ΓΗ  
                          ΝΟΝΤΑC ΕΓ ΔΙΟC  
                          ΟC ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑΝ  
                  Κ]ΑΔΜΕΙΟΙC ΑΝΑΞ 35

ANTIOPE C.—[*Right Col.*]

ΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΘΑΠΤΗΙC ΑΛΟΧΟΝ ΕΙC ΠΥΡΑΝ ΒΑΛΩΝ  
 CΑΡΚΩΝ ΑΘΡΟΙCΑC ΤΗC ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟΥ ΦΥCΙΝ  
 ΟCΤΕΑ ΠΥΡΩCΑC ΑΡΕΟC ΕΙC ΚΡΗΝΗΝ ΒΑΛΕΙΝ  
 ΩC ΑΝ ΤΟ ΔΙΡΚΗC ΟΝΟΜ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΛΑΒΗΙ  
 ΚΡΗΝΗC [ΑΠΟ]ΡΡΟΥC ΟC ΔΙΕΙCΙΝ ΑCΤΕΟC                    40  
 ΠΕΔΙΑ Τ[Α ΘΗΒ]ΗC ΥΔΑCΙΝ ΕΞΑΡΔΩΝ ΑΕΙ  
 ΥΜΕΙC Δ[ΕΠΕΙ]ΔΑΝ ΟCΙΟC ΗΙ ΚΑΔΜΟΥ ΠΟΛΙC  
 ΧΩΡΕΙΤΕ [     ]C ΑCΤΥ ΔΕ ΙCΜΗΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΑ  
 ΕΠΤΑC[ΤΟΜ]ΟΝ ΠΥΛΑΙCΙ[Ν] ΕΞΑΡΤΥΕΤΕ  
 CΥ ΜΕΝ[     ]ΤΟΓΝΕΥΜ.. ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΛΑΒΩΝ  
 ΙΗΘΩC[.....]ΠΟΝ.Ν CΥ[. .]Ν Δ ΑΜΦΙΟΝΙ 45

ΛΥΡΑΝ Κ[ΕΛΕΥ]Ω Δ[ΙΑ] ΧΕΡΩΝ ΩΠΛΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ  
 ΜΕΛΠΕΙΝ ΘΕΟΥ[Σ ΩΙ]ΔΑΙΣΙΝ ΕΨΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΙ  
 ΠΕΤΡΑΙ ΤΕ[...]ΜΝΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ ΚΗΛΟΥΜΕΝΑΙ  
 ΔΕΜ....]ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΕΙ[...]ΟΥΣΑ ΕΔΩΛΙΑ 50  
 .. ΤΕ[.....]Ν ΤΕΚΤΟΝΩΝ ΘΗΣΕΙ ΧΕΡΙ  
 ΙΕΥΣ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΣΥΝ Δ ΕΓΩ ΔΙΔΩΜΙ ΟΙ  
 ΟΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΔ ΕΥΡΗΜ ΕΣΧΕΣ ΑΜΦΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΞ  
 ΛΕΥΚΩ ΔΕ ΠΩΛΩ ΤΩ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΕΚΛΗΜΕΝΟΙ  
 ΤΙΜΑΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΣ ΕΞΕΤ ΕΓ ΚΑΔΜΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΙ 55  
 ΚΑΙ ΛΕΚΤΡΑ Ο ΜΕΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΑ [ΛΗΨ]ΕΤΑΙ ΓΑΜΟΝ  
 ΟΔ ΕΚ ΦΡΥΓΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ [ΕΥ]ΝΑΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
 ΤΗΝ ΤΑΝΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΠΑΙΔ ΑΛΛ [ΟΣ]ΟΝ ΤΑΧΙΣΤΑ ΧΡΗ  
 ΣΠΕΥΔΕΙΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΟΣ ΟΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ  
*Lyk.* Ω ΠΟΛΛ ΑΕΛΠΤΑ ΖΕΥΣ ΤΙΘΕΙΣ ΚΑΘ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ 60  
 ΕΔΕΙΞ ΤΑΣΔ ΑΒΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΕΜΑΣ  
 ΕΣΣΦΡΗ[ ] ΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ  
 ΠΑΡΕΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΙΗΤ ΕΦ'ΡΕ ΜΗΝΥΤΗΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ  
 ΨΕΙΔΕΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΣΦΩΙΝ ΔΕ ΜΗΤΕΡ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΝ  
 ΙΤΕ ΝΥΝ ΚΡΑΤΥΝΕΤ ΑΝΤ ΕΜΟΥ ΤΗΣΔΕ ΧΘΟΝΟΣ 65  
 ΛΑΒΟΝΤΕ ΚΑΔΜΟΥ ΣΚΗΠΤΡΑ ΤΗΓ ΓΑΡ ΑΞΙΑΝ  
 ΣΦΩΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΤΙΘΗΣΙΝ ΞΕΥΣ ΕΓΩ ΤΕ ΣΥΝ ΔΙΙ  
 ΕΡΜΗ[Ι ΑΡΕ]ΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΚΡΗΝΗΝ [Β]ΑΛΩ  
 ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΘΑΨΑΣ ΤΗΣ[ ]ΝΟΥΣΑ ΓΗΣ  
 ΝΑΣΜΟΙΣΙ ΤΕΓΓΗΙ ΠΕΔΙΑ ΘΗΒΑΙΑΣ ΧΘΟΝΟΣ 70  
 ΔΙΡΚΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝ[ΔΡ]ΩΝ ΥΣΤΕΡΩΝ ΚΕΚΛΗΜΕΝΗ  
 ΛΥΩ ΔΕ ΝΕΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΙΝ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ

Frag. C. We now come to the longest and most connected fragment, being a leaf with a few pieces broken off, and a good many words effaced. But the connexion is quite clear. It begins with the close of an excited choral song, after Lycus has gone into the snare prepared for him by the young men. Then he reappears dragged out by them, a captive, and about to be slain. After an excited dialogue Hermes intervenes, stops this new violence, and gives directions to Lycus and to Amphion concerning the building of Thebes, and the transfer of the monarchy to Amphion. Zethus, who was no doubt the younger, is treated as of little importance. With the acquiescing reply of Lycus, which we have complete, the fragment closes.

Let us come to details:—

9 is pronounced by Lycus behind the scenes, and the chorus breaks out into a strain of exultation.

Mr. Sayce was the first to perceive that 13, 14, is the very passage quoted by Stobæus, but with this reading (cf. Nauck, fr. 223):—

ΔΙΚΑ ΤΟΙ ΔΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΟC ΑΛΛ ΟΜΩC ΥΠΟΠΕCΟΥC  
ΕΛΛΑΘΕΝ ΟΤΑΝ ΕΧΗΙ ΤΙΝ ΑCΕΒΗ ΒΡΟΤΩΝ

In this reading ΥΠΟΠΕCΟΥC' appears to be corrupt, and has given rise to many suggestions (cf. Nauck *ad loc.*); but the present text does not help us out of the difficulty. The word ΕΠΕCΕΝ is indeed very faint, and I may not have read it correctly, but I can suggest nothing else. ΥΠΟΠΕCΟΥC is certainly not there. Mr. Bury suggested CΠΑΘΑΝ, which makes good sense, but I cannot find it in the vestiges on the papyrus.

15. The word ΑCΥΜΜΑΧΟC is new, but formed on proper analogy. The Stichomythia between one of the young men and the tyrant is quite clear.

The opening of Hermes' speech (13 lines) is almost totally lost, but the next (right) column contains the most connected passage in the fragments. It abolishes the claims of Nauck's fr. 224, conjecturally assigned to the *Antiope*, and justifies the acute criticism of H. Weil in reviewing Nauck's new edition.

38. The word **ΒΑΛΕΙΝ** should rather be a finite verb, but the reading is certain.

41. **ΕΞΑΡΩΝ** is new to us as a compound.

45-6 are very faint, and the opening of neither line certain.

50 is still a problem. **ΜΗΤΡΟC** is certainly there, and after **ΕΙ** three letters which look like **ΛΙΧ**.

54. Cf. *Herc. Fur.* 29.

56-7. I suggest commas after **ΛΗΨΕΤΑΙ**, then **ΕΥΝΑΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ**, and both it and **ΠΑΙΔ** are in apposition with **ΓΑΜΟΝ**. The first of these words is already known in the form **ΕΥΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ** as Euripidean; the insertion of the **Υ**, and the second **Λ** in Tantalus, and **ΨΕΙΔΕΙC** (64) are among the few mistakes in the text. According to the received legend Amphiion made this marriage.

62-3 are very faint, and we may have read the opening of them incorrectly. The opening of the former looks like **ΕCΦΦ**; in the second the **Ι** is plain, but there seems hardly room for the **Η** after it. **ΕΦ.ΡΕ** may be **ΕΥΡΕ** or **ΕΦΕΡΕ**. In the subsequent lines our suggestions (in brackets) will doubtless be improved by further advice.

As this discussion is not intended for beginners, I have omitted all illustrations of what is obvious, and all æsthetic comment, being only concerned to give such information as will help scholars of experience to complete the restoration and elucidation of the text. The assimilation of final letters is much the same as it is in the Greek

of inscriptions, and the form of the **I** is that recognized to be of early date. The writing is so small and compact that about twelve leaves, such as that which we possess, would contain the whole play; nor does it seem to have been written in a series of parallel columns along one long roll of papyrus, as is usually the case with the early papyri found in Egypt. I have lately seen one fifteen feet long, containing some thirty or forty columns side by side. This *Antiope* was written on one side of leaves of a moderate 'quarto' size, with a broad margin; it was probably the ornament of some little private library in the Fayoum. All our efforts to find any further scraps have been in vain; nor could they easily escape us, owing to the peculiarity of the hand, which differs widely from all those—and they are very numerous and various—found among the papyri. Even the other classical scraps have quite a different appearance. The writing of the *Phædo* of Plato only can rank superior to it, and even more highly finished.

When the facsimiles of this and other texts appear in the forthcoming *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy, the reader will be able to judge of these things for himself. There is only one thing to fear. The fresh exposure to light and air of documents so long glued together, will cause the ink to fade, so that future scholars may fail to find what we have seen and verified by the eyes of several concurrent witnesses.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

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The following is the first instalment of Mr. Sayce's studies on the every-day or fugitive documents of the Petrie papyri. They are very difficult to read, and have taxed all his skill as a decipherer.—M.

M 163.<sup>1</sup>—Bad handwriting, with many erasures and corrections. The papyrus much injured :

1. [κλε]ωνι χαιρειν οι λατο[μο]ι οι εν Παστωντι
2. [εργ]αζομενοι *erasure* παραλαβομεν[οι παρα] σου
3. τας πετρας εν τιτ[α]ν<sup>και</sup>ωι ειλε λατομητ[ον] ηδη
4. νυνι δε αργουμεν δια το μη εχειν σωμ[α]τα
5. ωστε ανακαθα<sup>λειωης</sup>ρ[ουν] την αμμον την επανω
6. της πα . . . λο . . . πολην οαφθι<sup>ων</sup>ρ (?) εως Ειης σημε
7. ρον ημερα της ημερας ης ειργασμενοι εισιν
8. δε . . . ωι διμην<sup>επι ων</sup>ωι οιδας δε διοτι [ο] τοπος
9. ερημος και ουκ εχομεν σιτον βουλομενοι<sup>ων</sup>
10. συντελεσαι τα αργα<sup>ων</sup>λια την τ . . . ην
11. απελθωμεν αποδωρησον δε λιπα<sup>διηγεις</sup>ρως ημιν
12. εμ ταχει ινα μη ενκαταλιπωμεν ευτυχει

L α θωνθ θ.<sup>2</sup>

The numerous blunders and corrections in the letter show that it must have been a rough draught. Σώματα is 'slaves.' In line 10 we should probably read τὴν τ[αχίστ]ην.

Kleôn, as we learn from other letters, was 'chief architect.' The 'quarry men' would seem to have been freemen, and distinct from the 'slaves,' who were needed to clear away the sand over the rock. The quarries must have been situated in the desert adjoining the Fayûm. The local marks in verse 6, including λειμῆς, are quite unknown.

<sup>1</sup> This numbering refers to the particular mummy case in which Mr. Petrie found the document.

<sup>2</sup> L is the sign for year. Thôuth is the Egyptian month.

On the back of the letter is the address Κλεωνι, and an obliterated memorandum—καθοτε θ . . . εντευξε [ως]. There is a rude design under it.

O 5, 1.

1. Θεωνος αναγγειλαντος
2. παρα Σωστρατου
3. βασιλευα προσταξαι τους σταθμους [των] αφειρημενων
4. η επι την γην επιλεγεμενων επι μη[νος] Περιτιου
5. του εν τωι ισλ μηθενα αιτει[σθ]αι μηδ[ε] παραλαμ
6. βανειν παρα τ[ινος] . . . [οικονο]μiais ως αν ο [β]ασιλευς  
π[αραταξει]
7. τουτων επισ[τολων εαν] δε τινες . . . της ων . . .  
το
8. η καταχωρησαι [τι]σιν η αλλως πως οικονομη
9. δωρισται τροπωι ωι . . . [δ]ουναι οικονομiai αυτη  
ακυρα
10. εστωσαν και . . . κια παντος
11. του χρονου ου α . . . γ . . . κατα το του [βα]σιλευς
12. προσταγμα

The royal decree is, possibly, to be dated in the sixteenth year of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 269).<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that, as in the wills, the Macedonian month (Peritios) is named: in the private letters and accounts, as on the ostraka, only the Egyptian names of the months are mentioned, even though the writers may be Greek.

The decree seems to refer to the confiscation of the land of certain natives—‘ the king orders that no one should ask for or receive from another the farms of those who have been deprived (of their holdings), or selected for the land’ (? devoted to the soil). δωρισται = δωρεϊσθαι. [Perhaps for διωρισται τροπωι τωιδε.—M.]

<sup>3</sup> [If it refers to the original military settlement in the Fayûm.—M.]

Q. 6.

1. . . . των σταθμων και των περιβολων των . . . κ (?)
2. . . . [οι]κητους επι σταθμους εχειν οια δε χωρη
3. τους κυριους εαν δε τις αποβιωσῃ τῳ αποτιν
4. . . . [αποτι] σατω ο αποβιασαμενος του οικηματος εκα
5. [στου] . . . του του μηνος Ε α του περιβολου Ε δ

This receipt forms part of a collection relating to the tenure of the farms in the Fayûm. It comes between one of which only the last few words remain, among them being the date of the fourteenth year, and another, which is dated in the twenty-fourth year. As Ptolemy Euergetes I. reigned only twenty-three years, it is probable that the rescripts belong to the reign of his father Ptolemy Philadelphus. [It is, however, possible that Euergetes entered upon his twenty-fourth year, though the land quarrels were probably at the beginning of the colony.—M.]

The last lines signify that whoever wrongfully occupied a farmstead was to pay to the heirs of its lawful possessor one metrêtes of oil or wine per month for his occupation of the building, and four metrêtai for his occupation of its enclosure.

This rescript is immediately followed by another, in the form of a letter from the king (in the twenty-fourth year of his reign) to a certain Lykomêdês:—

- (1.) [βα]σιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Λυκομηδῇ χαιρεῖν
- (2.) [τῷ]ν τοὺς κληροὺς ἀφηρημένων ἱππέων
- (3.) [οἱ σ]ταθμοὶ περιστῶσαν τῳ βασιλεὶ εἰαν
- (4.) [μῇ] τισὶν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ονόματος ἐπιστεῖλωμεν
- (5.) . . . ὡνδὶ ἐρρωσο Ἰκδ ἀρτεμισίου κῆ.

‘With regard to the knights who have been deprived of their lots, let the holdings be considered royal property, unless we give instructions to individuals by name.’ Dated year 24, 28th of Artemisius (Macedonian month).

The same papyrus which contains these rescripts contains also a memorandum which begins:—*υπομνημα Νικοκλει χρηματιστη παρα Ψαμητο[ς] το[υ] Πευνοτριος περι της [ε]ντενξεως*. It mentions *Αλεξανδρειαν*, and is dated in ‘the tenth year,’ but the rest of the text is unfortunately destroyed.

Ο 5, Π.

1. βασιλευοντος Πτολεμαιου
2. του Πτολεμαιου Σωτηρος
3. Λ λξ χοιαχ λ̄ απο Σχαμιων
4. παρα Πτολεμαι[ου] . . . των (?)
5. περι . . . <sup>ρ</sup>μον τοπων
6. και Πετεσουχου κωμογρ και
7. εις του γ̄ . . .
8. χοιαχ λ̄
9. πεδιλου . . .
10. παννι ιθ̄ απο καευχιος
11. εκτιμησης Αιακ[ου] εις σγ F βς
12. και Ονωφρις Αδιαφαστος
13. αντως Ψ Αιακου εις . . .

This is the commencement of a statement of receipts, which is interesting on account of the date, the thirty-seventh year of Ptolemy (Philadelphus), the son of Ptolemy Soter. It will be noticed that the *κωμογρα[μματεὺς]*, or village clerk, bears an Egyptian name, while his superio-

has the Greek name of Ptolemy. The symbol for ἐκτίμησις, 'estimate,' in line 13, is new. It is a compound of M and I.

T. I. Second column.

1. Χρηματισον
2. Λια μ[ε]χιρ ιε Ασκληπιαδ . . .
3. <sup>p</sup>κεστωτου παρ ημων
4. Λια μεχιρ ισ̄ εχει ο Ωριων[ος] . . .
5. <sup>1</sup>εδ̄ α-Ιβενωι καταγεται ξυλ[α] . . .
6. το καθηκον <sup>pp</sup>ναννωτον ρα . . .
7. ομολογει Δωριων Δυ . . .
8. ομολογει Διων παρα Νικανορος εχ[ειν] . . .
9. <sup>sic</sup>συβολον τουτο
10. ομολο[γε]ι Ακεων παρα <sup>sic</sup>Σισατειτιαδ . . .
11. ομολο[γει] Απολλοδωρος εχει δῑ εμ . . .
12. <sup>sic</sup>Καλλικραττης Δωριων εχει . . .
13. Νικανωρ Πυθωνι χαιρειν . . .
14. Δι[ον]υσοδωρωι Διωνος Ε̄ κεκλη . . .
15. ελαιουργιαις τρ[ι]ων τιμησις πα[ρα] . . .
16. απο τ[ω]ν <sup>p</sup>γρ̄ . . . των του . . .
17. <sup>sic</sup>της πολεμον . . . περιδος εκτης . . .
18. Ῑρια Η̄ απο δε τουτων υπομνη[ματων] . . .
19. εις τον της ελαιας πολεμον το . . .
- . . . . .

I give the above, though I am unable to explain much of it, since it is the best-preserved of the fragments which

were found in the same mummy case as the fragments of the *Antiope*. Several of the fragments bear the dates of the third and eleventh years (of Ptolemy II. or III.).

As *χρηματίζω* signifies 'to inscribe a contract in the public records,' the use of *χρημάτισον* shows that we are dealing with a rough draught.

An illustration of a receipt is furnished by another fragment (twenty-third year):—

## S. 251.

1. ομολογει Διονυσιος Ασκληπ[ιαδου]
2. συντιμασθαι τον υπο[γεγραμμενον]
3. αμπελωνα εις το κγλ Περιτιου . . .
4. εποικιον του Ηρακλειδου μ<sup>p</sup> . . .
5. εκ μετρητων δεκαδυο . . . [με]
6. μετρηται δυο και του . . .
7. ακροδρυων και στεφανωμα[των] . . .
8. δραχμων δεκαδυο ων Ηρ[ακλειδης] . . .
9. δραχμων δυο εαν δε του . . .
10. γενηται προς ων οι σωμ . . .
11. γραφιας ορκου βασιλικου . . ,
12. ομολογει Ισιδωρος Ασκλη[πιαδου]
13. συντιμασθαι τον υπο . . .
14. μοι αμπελωνα ε[ις] το κγλ . . .
- . . . . .

It would appear that not only were fruit trees and vines grown in the Fayûm, but also flowers for bouquets or wreaths at dinner.

The following fragment tells us the sums at which the gardens were assessed:—

## S. 237.

1. δι Αριστωνος των λοιπων κωμω[ν] . . .
  2. της μεριδος
  3. βασιλικης των προς αργυριον . . .
  4. συντετιμμενων
  5. παραδειςων ΠαΕο . . .
  6. αμπελωνων Παζχιζ 125 . . .
  7. /Κγγκσ Ερδ =
  8. και αμπλωνων γενημα[των] 1 . . .
- . . . . .

Lines 5, 6, 7, read:—‘on gardens assessed at 1 talent 70 minæ, the tax is . . .; on vineyards assessed at 1 talent 617 drachmæ, the tax is . . .; altogether on property worth 3 talents, 626 drachmæ, the tax is 104 silver drachmæ, 2 obols.’ In adding up the amount a drachma has been deducted from the value of the property, or was the talent calculated at 61, instead of 60 minæ?

## N. 185.

δια ταυτα προς . . .  
 προς τωι πληρωματι τωι ε[πι ?]πολ  
 υν αυτου αδελφον καλως ποιησεις  
 φρονησας ως ενδεχομενως περι αυτου  
 εις το επιγραφηναι αυτωι γραμματειον  
 εαν σοι φαινηται τουτο [επι]  
 τηρησας ευχαριστησεις ημιν και . . .  
 αξιος τε εστιν ανθρωπος εν χρεια . . .

The commencement and end of the letter are lost. For the use of πλήρωμα, I may cite an ostrakon from Kamah in my possession—Ηρακλιανω κολ λζ απο του νεφυτιου ομ[οιως] απο του χωριου Πικεραϊου κολ ε οινου γ οξους β εις πληρωσιν ποτ[ηριων] ε ομ[οιως] πεπρακα διπλοκ[εραμιον] ςη ομ[οιως] δωκα Ωριωνι γραμματ[ει] διπλοκεραμ[ιον].

## A 2. In capitals.

1. Πολυκρατης τωι πατρι χαιρειν καλως ποεις ει ερρωσαι και τα λοιπα σοι κατα γνωμην εστιν ερρω-
2. μεθα δε και ημεις πολλακις μεν γεγραφα σοι παραγενεσθαι και συστησαι με οπως της επι του
3. παροντος σχολης απολυθω και νυν δε ει δυνατον εστιν και μηθεν σε των εργαων κωλυει
4. πειραθητι ελθειν εις τα Αρσινοεια εαν γαρ συ παραγενηι πεπεισ-μαι ραδιως με τωι βασιλει
5. συσταθησεσθαι <sup>sic</sup> γινωσκε δε με εχοντα παρα Φιλωνιδου 70 απο τουτου το μεν ημυσυ
6. εις τα δεοντα υπελιπομην το δε λοιπον εις το δανειον κατεβαλον τουτο δε γινεται
7. δια το μη αθρον ημας αλλα κατα μικρον λαμβανειν γραφε δ ημιν και συ ινα ειδω
8. μεν εν οις ει και μη αγωνιωμεν επιμελου δε και σαντου οπως υγαινης και προς η-
9. μας ερρωμενους ελθης ευτυχει.

The sum mentioned in line 5 is 70 silver drachmæ.

From the spelling of ἡμισυ we may infer that *upsilon* had already acquired the sound of *i*.

A. H. SAYCE.

To the interesting letter just given let me add another, which I have deciphered from the papyri since furnished to me by Mr. Petrie.

] CΩCΙΦΑΝΕΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
ΧΑΡΙC ΤΟΙC ΘΕΟC ΠΟΛΛΗ ΕΙ ΥΓΙΑΙ  
ΝΕΙC ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΩΝΙΚΟC [?]  
ΠΕΦΥΤΕΥΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ Η ΑΜΠΕ

ΛΟC ΠΑCΑ Ε[?] ΠΥΘΜΕΝΕC 5  
 ΤΡΙΑΚΟCΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ  
 ΑΝΑΔΕΝΔΡΑΔΑ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΛΑΙΟΝ  
 ΔΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΧΟΥC C ΤΟΥΤΩΝ  
 ΕΧΕΙ ΔΥΝΙC Γ ΕΧΡΗCΑΜΗΝ  
 ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΥΝΕΩC ΑΡΤΑ 10  
 ΒΑC Δ ΚΡΙΘΟ? ΠΥΡΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΥ  
 ΟΝΤΟC ΓΙΝΩCΚΕ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ  
 ΥΔΩΡ ΕΚΑCΤΟC ΤΩΝ ΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΝ  
 ΑΜΠΕΛΟΝ ΦΥΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ 15  
 ΔΕΙΝ ΦΑCΙΝ ΟΥ [ΔΕ] ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ

On the back are the following words:—

ΟΧΕΤΕΥΟΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΙΖΟΜΕΝ  
 ΕΥΟΥC ΤΑ ΠΡΩΤΑ ΙΙΙ  
 ΕΡΡΩCΟ

The difficulties in this text arise from the writer not being an educated man. The general sense is clear. It corroborates the statement of Strabo, who turned aside on his journey up the Nile to see the Fayûm, and notes that here alone in Egypt oil and wine were largely cultivated. This we may now attribute to the Greek settlement, whose papers and letters form the bulk of the Petrie papyri.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

## CRITICAL NOTES ON PASSAGES

IN THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

### I.

LEVITICUS xx. 10.

וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִנְאֹף אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ אִישׁ  
אֲשֶׁר יִנְאֹף אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ רֵעֵהוּ

‘The man that committeth adultery with another man’s wife,  
even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour’s  
wife’ (A. V. = R. V.).

ON this Geiger has a long discussion (*Urschrift*, p. 241). He remarks that this repetition of the same clause, in almost the same words, is a scarcely intelligible tautology; and the passage becomes still more surprising when we observe that **אִשְׁתּוֹ אִישׁ**, in the sense in which it is here used, is thoroughly unbiblical, although usual in the Mishnah. His conclusion is that the original text was **אֲשֶׁר יִנְאֹף אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ רֵעֵהוּ**, for which a copyist wrote, according to the usage of his own time, **אִשְׁתּוֹ אִישׁ . . . .** Then either he or another wrote the correction in the margin, and so both remain.

There is no need of this circuitous explanation, which is interesting as showing the influence of the Massoretic

punctuation on those who do not admit it to be authoritative. Divide the verse differently and it will be obvious that we have simply a line accidentally repeated:

ואיש אשר ינאף את אשת  
איש אשר ינאף את אשת  
רעהו

## II.

## EXODUS xxx. 6.

ונתתה אתו לפני הפרכת אשר על-ארן העדת  
לפני הכפרת אשר על-העדת

‘And thou shalt put it [the altar of incense] before the veil  
that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat  
that is over the testimony’ (A. V. = R. V.).

The position of the altar is defined by the former clause; the latter is not only superfluous, but scarcely correct, for the altar which was before the veil was not ‘before’ the mercy-seat. Rashi, indeed, explains the clause as specifying that the altar was to be neither to the north nor to the south, but just opposite the ark. If this were intended, he might expect ‘before the ark’ as in xl. 5, not ‘before the mercy-seat.’ Further, the definition of the place of the mercy-seat is superfluous. The Samaritan text and the LXX omit the clause, and although the omission might be easily accounted for from the similarity of the clauses, yet in the circumstances it must be allowed some weight. Repetition is as frequent a fault as omission. Of course it is possible that we have here an erroneous reading and its correction side by side, or the repetition may have been purely accidental at first, and then פרכת in the second clause have been changed to כפרת from design.

III.

2 KINGS vii. 13.

יָקוּחַ-נָא חֲמֵשֶׁה מִן-הַסּוֹסִים הַנִּשְׁאָרִים  
אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרוּ בָּהֶם כָּל-הָהָמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל  
אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרוּ בָּהֶם כָּל-הָהָמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל  
אֲשֶׁר-תָּמוּ

‘ Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city [*Heb.* in it] (behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it: behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are consumed’) (R. V.).

According to Thenius the repetition of הָנֶם shows that two distinct cases are supposed; safe return, and destruction by the enemy; in the former case they share the lot of those that remain which are near death by starvation; in the other, that of those already dead. Similarly the note in the Variorum Bible. It is, I think, a case of accidental repetition, and the length of the repetition is about that of a line in the later copies, so that it was easily occasioned by the recurrence of אֲשֶׁר in about the same position in the line. The LXX have not the repetition.

It may be interesting to give a few other instances of repetition. The most striking one is in 1 Chron. ix. 35-44, which whole passage is nothing but viii. 29-38 repeated. The repetition was occasioned by the recurrence in ix. 34 of the words of viii. 28. The comparison of the names in the two places is very instructive.

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2 Sam. vi. 3, 4: we have a generally recognised repetition of an entire line, occasioned by the recurrence of עֲנִלָּה, and betraying itself conspicuously by the ungrammatical absence of the article from the adjective after דִּהְעֲנִלָּה. The LXX is correct.

Ezek. xi. 8, 9: there is also a well-recognised repetition of about one line occasioned by the recurrence of the words אֵלֶם דִּישַׁעַר. The Versions are correct and a few Hebrew MSS.

Ps. xc. 17 is another instance occasioned by the recurrence of עֲלִינוּ.

### IV.

JOB xxiv. 14.

לְאוֹר יָקוֹם רוֹצַח יִקְטֹל-עֵי וְאֲבִיוֹן  
וּבְלִילָה יִהְיֶה כְּגֵנֵב

‘The murderer riseth with the light, he killeth the poor and needy, and in the night he is as a thief’ (R. V.).

This is inconsistent with the context, which deals with the enmity of crime to light. Verse 13, ‘They are of those that rebel against the light; they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof. The murderer . . . . Verse 15, The eye also of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight,’ etc. The older commentators were not blind to this: some rendered לְאוֹר ‘before the light’ (a quite impossible rendering), others ‘at first dawn.’ Yet this does not escape the difficulty. Those rise at dawn who wish to do their work in the light. Read לֹא-אוֹר, ‘When there is no light.’

v.

PSALM xii. 6.

אויבי יאמרו רע לי

Probably the true reading is עלי (Bickell). I mention this only for the sake of the following:—

PSALM xl. 8.

במגלת ספר כתוב עלי

‘In the roll of the book it is written of me’ (R. V.).

The words are a crux. Some render, ‘in the volume of the book it is prescribed to me.’ I remark, first, that the Hebrew has not the article. It is, ‘in a roll of a book.’ Secondly, the use of the participle כתוב with no subject expressed, as in the first two renderings, appears to me inadmissible (I state this with some hesitation, as grammarians do not seem to have noticed it). The participle is properly an adjective. With a subject expressed it can be used as a predicate, the copula being as usual understood; but it cannot, I think, be used as itself including an impersonal subject; *i.e.* as = γέγραπται, impersonal. Another rendering is, ‘with the roll of the book that is written for me.’ The first remark that the article is not in the Hebrew holds against this also. And, surely, with this interpretation כתוב ought to have the article. Moreover, how poor a meaning we get! It is possible, says Ewald, that the poet may have brought a roll of the Pentateuch with him, *i.e.* ‘Sacrifice thou wouldest not, so I have brought a Bible!’ or, as Hitzig prefers, ‘I have brought on me a written leaf,’ viz. of prophetic matter written by the poet himself. I may add that בוא ב means to ‘bring with one,’ *e.g.* ‘an

offering' (Ps. lxvi. 13): not 'to come, having with one as one carries a book to church.' Olshausen judges that, there is no resource left except to regard the verse as a marginal note of a reader who could not reconcile himself to the statement, that God had no pleasure in sacrifice, since it was prescribed in the law (!), or more probably (because of the suffix in *עלי*), as an explanation of *רצונך* in v. 9.

There is another resource. The words are a marginal note recording a various reading: 'In a roll of a book is written *עלי*.' This is a perfectly grammatical, if not, as I think, the only grammatical rendering. The note might possibly refer to *לי* in the preceding verse, but much more probably to *לי* in xli. 6, cited in the preceding note.

Examples of such notes finding their way into the text are to be found in Greek and Latin Biblical MSS. For instance, in 2 Cor. viii. 3, a codex of Wetstein's after *δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς* has *ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἡλπίσαμεν*. In Luke xxiii. 15, we have in the Book of Kells, 'remisit eum in alio sic remisit eum ad vos.' In 1 Sam. xiv. 41, a 9th century codex has 'Domine Deus Israel, da iudicium in hoc loco vide ne quid praetermissum sit.'

The Hebrew text being written in columns, there is no difficulty in the supposition that a note intended for xli. 6, was supposed to belong to xl. 8. The interval is such that the two verses might probably have stood at the same height in adjoining columns.

This gloss being rejected, of course, *לעשות* comes to depend on *באתי*, 'I come to do thy will'; and we naturally read with Bickell, *בתורתך* instead of *ות*. When *לעשות* and *באתי* were separated by the gloss, it became necessary to connect *הפצתי* with the preceding, and so to write *ל* for *ב*.

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It may be interesting to mention other instances in which a correction has got into the text along with the reading corrected :

VI.

PSALM lix. 10, 11.

עו אלך אשמרה כ־אלהים משגבי :  
אלהי חסדו יקדמני

Here עו is clearly wrong, and is corrected in the Qerê to עוי. אשמרה is also wrong; שמר אל does not mean 'to wait on.' The most obvious correction is אומרה. Lastly, חסדו is an error for חסדי, which is the Qerê. Now, at the end of the Psalm in v. 18 nearly the same words are found, but with these errors corrected. It does not seem likely, if the words were a refrain, that the scribe who had made three blunders in them in v. 10, should write them correctly in v. 18, and not observe his former error. Moreover, the last two words אלהי חסדי in v. 11 begin a new sentence; whereas in 18 they are in apposition to what precedes. Some critics amend 10, 11, accordingly, but Hare's suggestion is probable, that 18 was originally meant as a correction of 10, 11.

VII.

PSALM lxviii. 5, 33, 34.

5 שירו לאלהים זמרו שמו	33 שירו לאלהים זמרו אדני
סלו לרכב בערבות	סלה לרכב בשמי
ביה שמו ועלו לפנו	שמי-קדם

The 68th Psalm is a thorough *crux interpretum*. There is a Jewish story which amusingly illustrates this. It is said that in Elysium some of the most eminent

commentators desired to be presented to King David, expecting to be received by him with special marks of honour. He simply handed them this psalm: 'There, gentlemen, interpret that if you please,' whereupon they slunk away abashed. Much of the difficulty is due to corruption of the text, and modern critics have made some good emendations. One gloss at least has been pointed out, namely, in v. 18 אֶל־פִּי שֵׁנָאן, which appears to be a gloss on רַבְתִּים.

In v. 5, above quoted, I think we may trace another gloss. When v. 5 and 33, 34 are placed side by side, as above, we cannot fail to notice an intentional parallelism. (For אֲדָנִי in v. 33, I should read יְהוָה or לִיהוָה). We first notice that סֶלָה is entirely out of place in v. 33, and it is so like סֵלוֹ of v. 5, that the latter is probably the true reading (so Kennicott, Hupfeld, Dyserinck, Bickell, Graetz). But the words which now concern us are בִּיה שְׁמוֹ. For שְׁמוֹ Hare and Secker proposed שְׁמָחוֹ, and the same suggestion has been made, or adopted, by Dyserinck, Reifmann, Hilgenfeld. I suggest that the words disguise a gloss on בְּעֶרְבוֹת. This word means 'in the deserts,' but has been interpreted (probably from v. 33) as = 'in the heavens' (so the Prayerbook and A. V.). The LXX render it 'the west,' δυσμων. In this ancient uncertainty a gloss is not improbable. יְשִׁמוֹן (יְשִׁמֹן) which occurs in v. 8 would be a correct gloss and comes very near the consonants of the text.

Verse 34 itself requires correction, viz. in שְׁמֵי שְׁמֵי קֶדֶם. Some critics would leave out one שְׁמֵי (Ewald), others substitute יְמֵי for the second (Dyserinck). We might more easily read: בְּשָׁמַיִם מִקֶּדֶם. The resemblance between מ and ש in the old alphabet is considerable. This also gives a better sense; 'the ancient heavens' would be a very strange expression.

VIII.

PSALM xxxv. 14.

כָּרַע כְּאֵחַ לִי הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי  
כְּאֶבֶל-אִם קִדְרִי שְׁחוֹתִי:

‘I behaved myself as though it had been my friend or my brother:

I bowed down mourning as one that bewaileth his mother’  
(R. V.).

The former clause is incomplete, the attitude of mourning not being indicated, whereas in the latter clause it is expressed twice. Some critics transpose the verbs (Riehm, Delitzsch); others remove קִדְרִי and place it after לִי (Hupfeld, Bickell). The latter device makes the former clause too heavy for the second. But, besides this כָּרַע is too feeble for the connexion, as it does not mean ‘a dear friend’; it often means only an acquaintance, or neighbour. I suggest pointing כָּרַע, ‘Bowed down as (were he) a brother to me I walked; as one bewailing a mother, in mourning I stooped.’

IX.

PSALM xlix. 8, 9, 10.

אֵחַ לֹא-כֹפֶדָה יִפְדֶּה אִישׁ  
לֹא-יִתֵּן לֵאלֹהִים כֶּפֶר: יִקֶּר פְּדִיּוֹן נַפְשׁוֹ  
וְחָדַל לְעוֹלָם: וַיִּחִי-עוֹד לְנֹצֶת  
לֹא יִרְאֶה שְׁחָת:

‘None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: (For the redemption of their soul is costly, and must be let alone for ever:) That he should live alway, that he should not see corruption’  
(R. V.).

The reader must be struck with the unusually prosaic and unrhythmical character of these verses in the E. V. The parenthesis is awkward. It has been proposed by

Olshausen to transpose verses 9 and 10, but this effects little improvement. When we look at the Hebrew we find that the E. V. has, in fact, improved upon it. There is no 'for' in the original, but 'and,' the verb **חַדַּל** is without an expressed object, and so used it means to 'cease,' not to 'leave alone,' or 'be left alone,' and lastly, v. 9 is wholly unrhythmical. v. Ortenberg omits it as a gloss, but it is not easy to see how in its present form it could ever have come in as a gloss. I think a very slight alteration will restore the text. But first, I must remind the reader of the emendation in v. 8 adopted by Ewald, Böttcher, and others, viz. **אֵךְ** for **אֵח**, and **יִפְדֶּה** for **יִפְדֶּה**. First, then, I omit **וְ** before **יִקַּר**, and I take **יִקַּר** in the sense of price (Zech. xi. 13). Now, as to **חַדַּל**, which is certainly corrupt, by a transposition of **ל** and **ד** we get **וַחַדַּל**, or (if preferred) **יַחַדַּל**, 'that he should continue for ever.' We thus get a perfectly clear and coherent sequence of thought, 'No man can buy himself off, nor give to God his ransom, the price of redemption of his soul, so that he should endure for ever, and live still on perpetually, and should not see the pit.'

**חַדַּל** is read by mistake for **חַלַּד** in Isaiah xxviii. 11. It may be objected, first, that **חַלַּד** does not occur as a verb in Hebrew; and secondly, that the root-meaning, as given by Gesenius, is quite different. To the latter objection I reply, that the root-meaning assigned by Gesenius, viz. 'to be smooth, slippery, then to slip away, to fleet,' is purely conjectural, and very improbable, as the source of the meaning of the noun **חַלָּד**, 'life,' 'world.' The Arabic **حَلَد** has the meaning 'to endure,' even to endure for ever, and in accordance with this the latest editors of Gesenius have adopted this as the root-meaning. The non-occurrence of the verb is not of much consequence, since **חַלַּד** as a substantive, in the sense of 'life,'

was so familiar. But there is certainly a superfluity of words in *vs.* 9 and 10, and the restored text betrays a gloss, if not two, in *v.* 9. *יקר פדיון נפשו* is clearly a gloss, as *כפרו*; and in *v.* 10 *ויחי-עד* is probably a gloss on *יחלד לעולם*, the latter rendered necessary perhaps by the rarity of the verb. *לנצח* may then be connected with the following words. It frequently precedes its verb.

X.

PSALM xlix. 15.

In the following emendation on the same Psalm I have been anticipated by van Ortenberg; it has, however, sufficient interest to deserve record here—

כצאן לשאול שתו מות ירעם  
וירדו בם ישרים לבקר  
וצירם לבלות שאול מזבל לו :

‘They are appointed as a flock for Sheol;  
Death shall be their shepherd.  
And the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning,  
And their beauty shall be for Sheol to consume, that there be no habitation for it.’—(R. V.)

The third clause is not easily intelligible. Delitzsch understands it to mean that after the night of trouble the righteous shall, like conquerors, trample on their oppressors; but the preceding clause seems to represent them as already dead and buried. Others take the morning to mean the life after death which the righteous alone shall enjoy. But for the Psalmist to use the word ‘morning’ alone to signify this would be to propose an enigma to his readers, and that in a Psalm whose metaphors are not

obscure, and to express the superiority of the righteous in the future state by saying that they trample on the deceased oppressors would be very strange. Besides, the thought would unsuitably interrupt the connexion between the second and fourth clauses. Point יִירְדוּ, combine the two following words into one בְּמִישָׁרִים (*rectd*, cf. Prov. xviii. 31, 'goeth down smoothly.'—R. V.). So far we have made no change in the consonants. 'They go down straight into . . . .' Now we must write לְקַבֵּר for לְבַקֵּר, 'into the grave.' The word קֶבֶר has already suffered from a transposition of its letters in v. 12, where the true reading is beyond question קְבָרִים (קֶבֶרִים), 'graves are their houses for ever' (see margin R. V.). v. Ortenberg reads יִירְדוּ לְבִיאָר (cf. Ps. l. 24), and after emending, ejects the clause as a gloss. I think the transposition is more easily accounted for than a mistake of א for ק. That the clause is a gloss is highly probable. We can hardly suppose that the Psalmist should first express his thought poetically, and then in bald prose. Graetz also adopts לְקַבֵּר, but makes other improbable emendations. It is well to remind the reader that in the last clause we should certainly point מִזְבֵּל with Lowth, Ewald, Hitzig, Riehm. 'Sheol is their habitation.' Doubtless also, for לו we should read לָמוּ (Hare, Krochmal, &c. = LXX Syr.).

## XI.

PSALM xiv. 5, 6.

שֵׁם פָּחַדוּ פָּחַד  
 כִּי־אֱלֹהִים בְּדֹר צָדִיק :  
 עֲצַת־עַנִי תְּבִישׁוּ  
 כִּי יִהְיֶה מַחֲסֹה :

'There were they in great fear : for God is in the generation of the righteous.

'Ye put to shame the counsel of the poor, because the Lord is his refuge.'—R. V.

PSALM liii. 5.

שם פהדו פחד לא-היה פחד  
כי-אלהיה פזר עצמות חנך  
הבישתה כי-אלהים מאסם:

‘There were they in great fear, where no fear was: For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee: Thou hast put them to shame, because God hath rejected them.’

It does not often happen that we can compare two ancient copies of a Hebrew text, as we appear to be able to do here, for these two Psalms are only different editions of one and the same. Most of the verses are nearly identical, except that in liii. Elohim takes the place of Jehovah in xiv. The variations in verses 1 and 3 do not transcend the limits of transcriptional error. But the differences in the verses above quoted are considerable. Yet in Hebrew the similarity of sound is so great that, taken in connexion with the identity of the rest of the Psalm, no reasonable doubt can remain that both are modifications of the same original. The modifications are probably due not so much to a copyist as to a reciter whose memory was not exact. It has, however, been supposed by some critics that the differences are due to an attempt to restore a partly illegible text. According to others, in Ps. liii. a later poet has adapted to a special occurrence the language of xiv. The similarity of sound in several of the words is too great to allow us to regard this hypothesis as probable. Surely the resemblance between *עצת* and *עצמת* (חו), *מחס* (הו), and *מאסם* (ס), *בדר* and *פזר*, cannot be accidental, nor is the position of these words respectively consistent with the hypothesis of imitation. Moreover, no deep analysis is required to show that the text of liii. is corrupt. It has clearly the advantage of xiv. in retaining the clause

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‘where no fear was.’ The enemy then are smitten with a groundless panic; why? Because their bones (or the bones of their comrades) were scattered! In such circumstances a panic is not exactly groundless. Then, in addition to their bones being scattered, they are themselves put to shame—a decided anticlimax. Neither expression would be much to the credit of the later poet. An American Hebraist, Mr. King, has suggested pointing עֲצֻמוֹת (more correctly עֲצָמוֹת), and taking the word in the sense ‘weighty counsels,’ in support of which he refers to Isaiah xli. 21: ‘Produce your cause, saith the LORD; bring forth your strong reasons (עֲצֻמוֹתֵיכֶם), saith the King of Jacob.’ There, however, the notion of ‘reasons,’ or ‘proofs’ (not ‘weighty counsels’), is suggested by the word ‘cause’ in the former clause; it is not contained in the word עֲצֻמוֹת, which simply = *robora*. But a very slight change removes the absurdities, viz. read מועצות (מעצת), ‘counsels.’ To ‘scatter devices’ is a very tolerable metaphor. It may be remarked, that in every instance where מועצות occurs, except one (*i.e.* six times) it refers to bad counsels. ‘God is in the generation of the righteous,’ in xiv. 5, is a very strange expression. Now, בדר is not only like פזר in sound, but is its Aramaic equivalent, and is actually the word by which in liii. 5 the Targum renders that word. It might, therefore, readily have been substituted for it by a copyist or reciter. A later edition, reading it as בדור, found it necessary, in order to complete the sense, to add צדיק. This is the only word in Ps. xiv. which has nothing resembling it in liii. Now, in xiv. 6; ‘Ye put to shame (or “will put to shame,” not “have shamed,” as in E. V.) the counsel of the poor, because the LORD is his refuge,’ makes reasonable sense only if we take the first clause as meant defiantly or interrogatively, ‘Ye may frustrate . . . [if ye will, but ye cannot], for.’ This supposes a rather harsh ellipsis. It is also deserving of notice, that הַבִּישׁ does

not elsewhere occur with an impersonal object. חֲנָךְ is a difficult word, and the suffix has nothing in the context with which it can be connected. The translation of the LXX ἀνθρώπων παρείσατων, suggested to Cappellus the reading חֲנָף. The LXX rendering does not, however, support this conjecture, as they never so render חֲנָף. If we have to construct a text from which both that of xiv. and that of liii. may have been derived we might perhaps read as follows :—

שֶׁם בַּחֲדוֹ בַּחֲךָ לֹא הָיָה בַּחֲךָ  
כִּי־אֱלֹהִים פֹּזֵר מַעֲצוֹת חֲנָף (?)  
עָנִי הִבִּישׁוּ כִּי־יְהוָה מַחֲסוֹ:

‘There were they in great fear, where no fear was;  
For God hath scattered the devices of the impious.  
The poor hath shamed him, because Jehovah is his refuge.’

## XII.

PSALM lxxi. 20, 21.

תָּשׁוּב תַּחֲיִינִי  
וּמִתְהוֹמוֹת הָאָרֶץ תָּשׁוּב תַּעֲלֵנִי:  
תִּרְבֵּנִי גְדֹלְתִי וְתִסָּב תִּנְחַמְנִי:

(I read the suffixes in the singular with the Qerê.)

‘Thou shalt quicken me again,  
And shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth.  
Increase thou my greatness,  
And turn again and comfort me.’

‘Turn round and comfort me’ appears to me a very strange expression to use of God. סָבַב does not mean to turn ‘again.’ Clearly, I think, the word should be תָּשׁוּב. On the other hand, תָּשׁוּב before תַּעֲלֵנִי is, I venture to think, unsuitable both in sense and rhythm. It is a marginal correction of סָבַב which has crept into the text.

## XIII.

PSALM lxxii. 20.

כלו תפלות דוד בן-ישי:

‘The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.’

Readers in general have learned from the Revised Version that the Psalms are in the Hebrew text divided into five books. The 72nd Psalm is the last of the second book. It is almost needless to prove that the words quoted above do not originally belong to this Psalm itself, which, indeed, in the title is attributed to Solomon. Had the editors found such a subscription they would not have given it this title. On the other hand, if the title is the older, then again it is clear that the subscription must have been intended to apply, not to this particular Psalm, but to the preceding collection, this Psalm being exceptionally included.<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint appears to have read תהלות for תפלות, translating ὑμνοι, and this is, no doubt, the right reading. It is, in fact, simply equivalent to *Finis Psalmorum David*. The word was altered by later editors, who supposed that the subscription preceded from the author of the Psalm, the difficulty of the title being surmounted by interpreting it ‘For Solomon.’

## XIV.

PSALM cvi. 48.

‘Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting, and let all the people say, Amen, praise ye the Lord.’

This Psalm ends the fourth book. Each of the four books ends with a doxology, that which ends the whole collection being numbered as Ps. cl. It has been sug-

<sup>1</sup> Psalms xlii.-l. have probably been accidentally displaced from the 3rd Book (Ewald).

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gested that this is merely due to selection, Psalms which ended with a doxology being chosen to conclude the several books. But it is more probable that the doxologies are a liturgical addition. I will only remark that nowhere else does 'Amen' occur, except after 'said,' or 'shall say.' But Psalm cvi. is peculiar in ending, 'And let all the people say Amen.' That this is a liturgical direction will be obvious when it is considered that to say Amen has no meaning, except with reference to words just uttered, and generally uttered by another person. The incongruity is striking when we hear a whole congregation sing the words, and even more so when they are sung by a choir, which neither expects nor intends all the people to say Amen.

1 Chron. xvi. confirms this. There we have at the end of a psalm made up of cv. and xcvi. the last two verses of this psalm, but the clause in question runs thus (v. 36): 'And all the people said Amen and praised the Lord.' It seems that the Chronicler looked on the words as a liturgical direction, and simply recorded its fulfilment by the people. Another alternative is of course possible, that an editor, or copyist, of the Psalm borrowed the words from Chron., changing the tense to suit his purpose. This comes to the same in the end.

**XV.**

**ISAIAH li. 6, 7.**

'They helped every one his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage. So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheneth with the hammer him that smiteth the anvil, saying of the soldering, It is good: and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved.'

This has no connexion whatever with the context. Verse 6 indeed might possibly be connected with v. 5, but

falls more naturally to *v.* 7. The verses really belong to the preceding chapter after *v.* 20, 'He that is so impoverished that he hath no oblation, chooseth a tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto him a cunning workman to set up a graven image that shall not be moved.' It is not in the prophet's manner to break off thus suddenly without some mocking details. The verses quoted above fit in here very suitably, and it is to be particularly observed, that *v.* 7 ends with the same words as xl. 20, viz. *לֹא יִמּוּט*. Here is the clue to the derangement; the verses were at first omitted from homoeoteleuton, and being supplied in the margin got into the wrong place. The interval would make about a column.

As an example of similar displacement in the same book, I may refer the reader to two known instances, ch. v. 18-25, which belongs to ix. 8-x. 4; also xxxviii. 21, 22, which have their true place after *v.* 6. In their present place they are ungrammatical, the tense used not admitting a pluperfect rendering.

T. K. ABBOTT.

*January 5th, 1891.*

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FRAGMENTS OF THE  
LATIN SCENIC POETS.<sup>1</sup>

1. LIVIUS, vs. 18 (Ribbeck, vol. i. ed. 2, p. 3).

Etiam *mi* minitás ? mitte ea quae túa magis sunt quáam mea.

Ribbeck omits *mi*, and writes *sunt magis*, both with Nonius.

2. ENNIUS (vs. 8, p. 16).

Nam consfliis obvaránt quibus

Concédit Hector.

So Ribbeck. Nonius has *concedit hic ordo*. Write : *concedit, credo*.

4. ENNIUS (vs. 151, p. 35).

Cónstitit credó Scamander, árbores ventó vacant.

So Ribbeck. But Nonius has *vagant*, quoting the passage from *vagare* = *vagari*. I propose to keep *vagant*, and to refer the passage to the description of some storm. *Credo* is remarkably otiose. I propose—

Cónstitit *cedró* Scamander, árbores ventó vagant.

‘Scamander is choked with cedars : trees are travelling with wind.’ Ida was famous for cedars.

<sup>1</sup> A former series of these Notes appeared in HERMATHENA, vol. vii. p. 46 *seqq.*

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5. PACUVIUS, vs. 138 (p. 93).

Útinam nunc matrēscam ingenio, ut meūm patrem ulciscí queam.

These words are from the 'Dulorestes,' and are uttered either by Orestes or Electra. If by Orestes, *matrēscam* must remain, although such a formation as *matrescere* for *meae matris similis fieri* is unknown from any other source. I am inclined to think that Electra is the speaker, and the true reading MARESCAM. *Marescam* would be very soon changed to *matrēscam*, occurring in the same line with *patrem*.

5. PACUVIUS, vs. 217 (p. 103).

Úsi honore crédo Achivi hunc scéptrum patientúr poti.

Read *eius honore*, 'out of compliment to him' (Achilles).

6. ACCIUS, vs. 105 (p. 149).

Múliebre ingeníum, prolubium, occásio . . .

Read—

Múliebre ingenium, prólubium, procácitas.

7. ACCIUS, vs. 424 (p. 190).

Únde quis non mortális florem líberum invidit meum ?

But the MSS. of Nonius have *unde aut quis mortalis*. That looks like—

Únde anguis mortális florem líberum invidít meum ?

'Whence has a deadly serpent (or serpent in human shape) looked with evil eye on my children's beauty ?'

7. ACCIUS, vs. 576 (p. 211).

Aut saépe ex humili séde sublima évolat.

Read *Avis saepe*.

## 8. ACCIUS, vs. 456 (p. 195).

The MSS. of Nonius here give :—

Frigit fricantem corpus acuum occulte abstruso in flumine.

Ribbeck seems wide of the mark here, so I will not give his reading. I think the line which apparently describes the treatment of the dead body of Meleager may have run :—

*Fricat frigentis corp[us] ac tum occulto abstersit flumine.*

## 9. ACCIUS, vs. 473 (p. 197).

Tú, uti dixi, mácte his armis, mácte virtutef patris.

Nonius quotes the line as from the Neoptolemus ; but his lemma is corrupt, and mixes up part of the name *Neoptolemo* and the first word of the line cited : *Ennius optolempota* (or *optolempota*). This points to :—

*Ápta, et dux i*, mácte his armis, mácte virtutef patris.

‘ Put them on, and go forth as leader endowed with these arms and your father’s valour ’ ! *Aptare* is the proper word for assuming armour or arms.

## 10. ACCIUS, vs. 633, p. 218.

Fluctí cruoris vólverentur Mýsii.

So Ribbeck, with Buecheler. But the MSS. of Nonius have *mihi* for *Mýsii*. I would read :—

Fluctí cruoris vólverentur *út mini*,

‘ Waves of blood, as it were vermilion, were rolled along.’ I wish to make the same suggestion (if it has not been made already) in Silius Italicus 46 :—

Dum Romana tuae, Ticine, cadavera ripae  
Non capiant, similisque *MINI* per Celtica rura  
Sanguine Pergameo Trebia et stipantibus armis  
Corporibusque virum retro fluat ac sua largo  
Stagna reformidet Trasimenus turbida tabo.

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where, as in the passage from Accius, the MSS. give *mihi*. I am aware of a possible construction with *mihi*, and of two objections to *mini*, but I think *mini*, notwithstanding, is worth proposing.

11. LIVIUS, vs. 3 (vol. ii. p. 3).

Festus, p. 174 (M.), cites *Livius in Virgo*. The name of the play is uncertain. I suggest we should read *In Furgio* : in 'The Quarrel.'

12. CAECILIUS, vs. 90 (p. 51).

Ere, óbsecro, hercle, désine ! P. Mane coépiam.

The syllaba anceps is justifiable, but sense is improved by writing :—

Em ! mane coépiam.

A slave is being flogged.

13. CAECILIUS, vs. 129 (p. 56).

Satine huic ordini,

Étsi nihil egtsti quaesti ? P. Quaésti ? P. Quia sunt aémuli.

The passage is quoted by Nonius as showing the second declension of *quaestus*. I cannot think he is not blundering. His MSS. give *egi*, not *egisti*. I write :—

Satin haec órdine

Étsi nihil *egí quaesivi* ? P. Quaésti. P. Quia sunt aémuli, &c.

Someone asks another : 'Is it not the case that I have inquired thoroughly into these things, although I effected nothing ?' Answer : 'You did inquire.' *Quia sunt aemuli* demands a sequel for explanation.

## 15. AFRANIUS, vs. 169 (p. 185).

Tú, Castalia, cógita tu fíngere fabricare út libet.

‘Castalia nomen cum per’sse rarum tum in togata suspectum,’ Ribbeck. Read:—

Tú gesta dília cogita, &c.

I will merely record the following suggestions:—  
Vol. i. p. 4, Livius, vs. 26, *puellum* for *puerum*; p. 10, vs. 30, *icite* after *inlicite*; p. 11, vs. 40, *ingeni*[*aciem*]; p. 117, Pacuvius, vs. 317, *inpertita quid* for *inpetrita quit*; p. 187, Accius, vs. 396, *expulsim* for *expulsum*, and *et procelli*, 397, for *aut procellis*, and *aura mulsa* for *alia multa*, 404; p. 191, vs. 430, add *onus* after *imponas*; p. 230, Ovid, vs. 2, *vae!* ~~*plena*~~ (probably anticipated); p. 241, Incert. vs. 45, write *Non multa peccabis, scio: sin peccas, regere possum*; p. 242, Incert. vs. 49 (p. 242), *exfatur* for *fatur*; Incert. 121 (p. 253), *caram* for *sacram*; Incert. 185 (p. 263), *dominio* for *domino*, making the verse trochaic.

A. PALMER.

## SOPHOCLEA.

SOPH. *Oed. Col.* 542-548.

XO. δυστανε, τί γαρ ; ἔθου φόνον  
 OI. τί τοῦτο ; τί δ' ἐθέλεις μαθεῖν ;  
 XO. πατρός ; OI. παπαῖ, δευτέραν ἔπαισας ἐπὶ νόσφ νόσον.  
 XO. ἔκανες. OI. ἔκανον ἔχει δέ μοι  
 XO. τί τοῦτο ; OI. πρὸς δίκας τι. XO. τί γάρ. OI. ἐγὼ φράσω.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὖς ἐφόνευσ' ἔμ' ἀπώλεσαν'  
 νόμφ δὲ καθαρός, αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον.

The great difficulty in this passage is v. 547, where the MSS. give καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπώλεσα. Hermann's ἀλοῦς for ἄλλους sets the metre right, but gives no sense, for ἀλοῦς cannot mean 'caught by fate,' nor 'caught (overtaken) by Laius ;' still less can ἀλοῦς ἐφόνευσα = ἐάλων φονεύσας. The reading given above is Mekler's, which Professor Jebb accepts. I give Professor Jebb's admirable rendering—

CH. Wretch ! How then ? . . . thine hand shed blood ? . . .  
 OE. Wherefore this ? What would'st thou learn ?  
 CH. A father's blood ? OE. Oh ! oh ! a second stab—wound on wound !  
 CH. Slayer ! OE. Ay, slayer—yet have I plea. CH. What canst thou plead ? OE. A plea in justice. CH. What ?  
 OE. Ye shall hear it : they whom I slew would have taken mine own life : stainless before the law, void of malice, have I come unto this pass !

Now, Mekler's reading of v. 547 seems to produce an anticlimax. The plea which Oedipus brings out at last

with a final jet of pent-up feeling should be something stronger than 'my act was in self-defence.' A stronger plea would be: 'If I brought death on Laius, on myself too I blindly brought death and destruction.' I propose to read:—

καῖμ' ἀλαός γ' ἐφόνευσα καὶ ὤλεσα.

If ἀλαός, which is somewhat puzzling because it is used tropically for 'unwittingly,' became corrupted to ἄλλους, that would have been made the subject of the verbs, and would have led to the corruption of καῖμ'. The γ' in my reading is not the schoolboy's γε, inserted only to lengthen a short syllable; it is essential to emphasize duly the strongest word in the sentence, 'myself too in my blindness I slew.' The καὶ ὤλεσα is requisite to show that ἐφόνευσα is metaphorical, 'it was a murder of myself too, a murder of my happiness.' The copyists taking the common view, that καὶ ὤλεσα is merely epexegetic of ἐφόνευσα, and being unhampered by considerations of metre, naturally changed ὤλεσα to what would, on their theory, have been a better word, ἀπώλεσα. In v. 548 Oedipus develops further the plea involved in ἀλαός, which, of course, may well be used tropically; Herm. on Aesch. *Cho.* 815, conjectures ἀλαά in the sense of 'unseen,' on the analogy of *caecus*. Against ἀγνώς for ἄλλους the short ᾶ is a fatal objection. My theory is that by a very natural oversight ΑΛΛΟC was written for ΑΛΑΟC, and that the other changes in the true reading were deliberately introduced to provide a construction.

*Oed. Col.* 702.

τὸ μὲν τις οὐ νεαρὸς οὐδὲ γήρῃ  
σημαίνων ἀλιώσει χερὶ πέρσας.

The meaning evidently is, 'no commander, be he young (like Xerxes) or old (like Archidamus).' This

meaning is attained by accepting Blaydes's conjecture of *συνναίων* for *σημαίνων*. But it is hard to see how the supposed corruption arose, and we should rather have expected *συννοικῶν*; besides, we want a word for 'commander.' I propose :—

τὸ μὲν τις οὐ νεαρὸς οὐδὲ γηράς  
σημάντωρ ἀλιώσκει χερὶ πέρσας,

'no one, young or old, as commander (of an invading host), shall mar them with ravage.' The participle *γηράς* is found in *Il.* xvii. 197, and has been restored at *Eur. Med.* 1396 : we have the infin. *γηρᾶναι* at *O. C.* 873. It is to be observed, that *σημαίνων* of the MSS. might be retained, but it would not stand gracefully (though quite defensibly) between *γηράς* and *πέρσας*.

*Oed. Col.* 708–710.

ἄλλον δ' αἶνον ἔχω ματραπόλει τᾷδε κράτιστον,  
δῶρον τοῦ μεγάλου δαίμονος, εἰπεῖν χθονὸς αὔχημα μέγιστον,  
εὐῖππον εὐπωλον εὐθάλασσον.

The edd. agree in accepting Porson's *χθονὸς*, to supply the two short syllables which the metre proves the verse to lack. But how did *χθονὸς* fall out? A few lines lower down, 720, Antigone apostrophizes Athens in the words—

ὦ πλείστ' ἐπαίνους εὐλογούμενον πέδον.

I propose to introduce *πέδον*, instead of *χθονὸς*, into v. 709. The construction will then be *εἰπεῖν αὔχημα πέδον*, 'to utter a boast of the land,' like *κακὰ λέγειν τινα, κατὰξια δρᾶν τὸν ἄνδρα*, a perfectly correct construction, but one sufficiently difficult to account for the omission of *πέδον* by the copyists. Now, *χθονὸς* presents no difficulty. Besides, the adjectives *εὐῖππον εὐπωλον εὐθάλασσον* follow far more fitly after an expressed accusative with which they agree.

*Oed. Col.* 936.

τῷ νῷ θ' ὁμοίως κατὰ τῆς γλώσσης λέγω.

On the principle of '*proclivi lectioni praestat ardua*,' I would read here for τῷ νῷ the rare word κοινῶ, which occurs in Aesch. *Suppl.* 164, 174; νοῶ and φρονῶ have been suggested.

*Oed. Col.* 1036.

οὐδὲν σὺ μεμπτὸν ἐνθάδ' ὦν ἐρεῖς ἐμοί.

But ἐνθάδ' ὦν is very weak. I would read ὦν, connecting οὐδὲν ὦν ἐρεῖς. For the *hyperbaton*, cp. v. 1428 :—

τίς δὲ τολμήσει κλύων  
τὰ τοῦδ' ἐπεσθαι τάνδρός;

and the examples of violent hyperbaton there given by Jebb. Perhaps the best example of *hyperbaton* in Greek poetry is Aristoph. *Thesm.* 811.

*Oed. Col.* 1454.

ὁρᾷ, ὁρᾷ ταῦτ' ἀεὶ χρόνος, στρέφω μὲν ἕτερα,  
τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμαρ αὖθις αὖξων ἄνω.

So Jebb, after Hartung; but the MSS. give ἐπεὶ μὲν, not στρέφω μὲν. I would propose ἐπιὼν μὲν (υυυ--=υυ-): compare Q. T. 199, τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἔρχεται. The meaning is 'attacking, assailing.' For the accus. cp. *Il.* xi. 367, &c.

*Antig.* 343.

κουφονόων τε φύλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ἄγει.

The word ἄγρει would be more natural, and yet sufficiently rare to be very probably corrupted to ἄγει.

*Ant.* 966, 967.

This is a passage of well-known difficulty. Without adding arguments which might be tedious, I would suggest that the two verses should run—

παρὰ δὲ Κυνεαῖν πελάθει διδύμας θ' ἄλως  
ἄκταις Βοσπορίαισιν ὁ Θρηκῶν ἄξενος  
Σαλμυδησός.

or else—

παρὰ δὲ Κυνεαῖν πελάθων διδύμας ἄλως  
ἄκταις Βοσπορίαισί θ' ὁ Θρηκῶν, κ. τ. λ.

A city which extends in the direction of a place may be said to 'run towards it,' πελάθειν.

*Oed. Tyr.* 319.

τί δ' ἔστιν ; ὥς ἄθυμος εἰσελήλυθας.

The alternative punctuation—

τί δ' ἔστιν ὥς ἄθυμος εἰσελήλυθας ;

'what ails that thou comest here so sad?'—is defended by Soph. *Electr.* 1112—

τί δ' ἔστιν, ὦ ξέν', ὥς μ' ὑπέρχεται φόβος ;

where the placing a mark of interrogation after ξέν' would introduce a violation of Dr. Verrall's canon (*Journ. Phil.* xii. 140), forbidding the elision of a dissyllable of pyrrhic value before a real pause in the sense.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

## NOTE ON THE BOOK OF MULLING.

**V**ISITORS to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, must have noticed the metal box in which the Book of Mulling has been kept for centuries, and especially the cover with its very large crystal. This is surrounded by very fine niello work which I have recently cleaned, so that it can be seen distinctly. Vallancey, writing in 1786, says, that the crystal (or Meisicith) 'was originally let through the cover so that the light could pass through; on the back of it there is now a foil of tin, moveable, evidently the work of a modern day.' On cleaning the crystal I thought I could see traces of a letter under it; accordingly, I carefully removed it, and found below, between the crystal and the foil of tin referred to by Vallancey, a brass plate concealed by the dust of nearly five centuries, and bearing the following inscription in black letter :—

artturus  
rex domin  
us 3 lagenie  
elnsdabe  
tilia 3 baroni  
anno 3 dni  
millio  
quadrim  
gentesi  
mo scdō  
ad

This Arthur was Arthur Kavanagh. The *Annals of the Four Masters* record, under the year 1417, the death of Art MacArt MacMurtough MacMaurice, lord of Leinster, who is described as a man full of hospitality, knowledge, and chivalry, an enricher of churches and monasteries. This, says Dr. O'Donovan, was the celebrated Art MacMurrough Kavanagh who opposed Richard II.

His death is also recorded under 1416, where his name Kavanagh is given. 'Rex dominus' is clearly meant as a Latinizing of the Irish 'roy domnach,' which, however, means 'heir to the lordship.' The fourth and fifth lines are, as yet, an unsolved puzzle.

The inscription may perhaps refer to the insertion of the crystal, with its silver niello casing, which I should judge to be later than the metal box itself.

T. K. ABBOTT.

*January 14th, 1891.*

NOTES, CHIEFLY CRITICAL, ON THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES AND THE EPISTLES  
PREFIXED TO THEM.

(Continued from HERMATHENA, 1890, p. 267.)

HOMILY IV. 9, 10.

CLEMENT having met his old acquaintance Appion in Tyre, and arranged to hold a discussion with him in the presence of his friends Annubion and Athenodorus, with 30 others, expressed a wish *ιδιολογεῖσθαι*, to discourse in private, in order to avoid the presence of pretended philosophers who did not sincerely desire to arrive at truth. He therefore says: *διὰ δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπιτήδειόν τινα πρὸς τὸ ιδιάζειν τόπον ἐπιλεξώμεθα*. We then read, *καὶ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς πλούσιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ πάντος χώρον τινα περὶ ἑαυτὸν κεκτημένος παμμούσων φύλλων*, ἔφη, Ἐπειδὴ σφόδρα καῦμα ἐπιφλέγει, βραχὺ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐμοὺς κήπους ὑποχωρήσωμεν. καὶ δὴ προϊόντες ἐκαθίζοντο ἔνθα ἦν καθαρὰ ψυχρῶν ναμάτων ρεύματα καὶ δένδρων παντοίων χλοερὰ σκέπη.

It is a pity that so pretty a passage as this, which I have transcribed in full on account of its own interest, should be disfigured by two ugly blots. The first of these is the phrase *διὰ πάντος*, which, where it is placed, is wholly unmeaning. It is too remote to qualify the *φύλλων* farther on as an adverbial expression. Lagarde says the accent on the *διά* is by a recent hand, and thinks the phrase is a corruption of some adjective such as *διαβόητος*. I find no other suggestion besides this, which seems im-

probable. But I think a simpler remedy may be found by supposing that an iota has been lost by getting merged in the last letter of the preceding *καί*. We might thus, putting a comma before *καί*, read *καί ἰδίᾳ πάντος χώρόν τινα*, a place apart from everybody. This would respond to the *ιδιάζειν* in the preceding sentence.

Now as to the *παμμούσων φύλλων*, the suggestions are numerous: *παμμήνων*, which is irrelevant, as if the leaves were there at the time it could make no difference whether they were evergreen or not; *παμμίκτων*, also irrelevant; *παμμυρίων*, which is improbable; and Lobeck's *παμπλούσιον φύλλων*, which is the best, but not likely. Now the Parisian MS. has *πανμούσων*, and I think this gives us a little help to the right word. I propose to read *πανευόσμων*, all-fragrant, such as the familiar fragrance of a grove of Portugal laurels. Compounds with *παν* are privileged; and we have already the word *πανόσμος* as the name of a plant. If it was not rather too long we might read *πάνυ εὐόσμων*, but I prefer the single word. It is highly relevant, as the intention was evidently to add as much as possible to the delightfulness of the place. And the word *πανευόσμων* comes very near to the impossible reading of the MSS.

## HOMILY IV. 16.

Ἀλλά γε μυρία ἡσέβηκεν, ἢν' ὑπὸ τῶν δυσσεβῶν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀκρασίαν θεὸς εἶναι τὸ μύσος δογματισθῇ.

In this sentence the *τὸ μύσος* is introduced by Lagarde instead of the manuscript reading *ὁ μῦθος*, which is nonsense as the sentence exists. Lagarde's emendation is not much better. It is a very strange way of speaking to talk of Jupiter's abomination being a god. It might be admitted, if he read *θεοῦ* for *θεός*, that it might be made a dogma that the abomination was a god's. I would leave

the  $\delta$   $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$  as it exists, introduce  $\tau\acute{o}$  after  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ , and make  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  for  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . The meaning would then be: ‘that on account of the excessive dissoluteness being a god’s, the fable might be made a dogma by the ungodly.’ Whether we adopt Lagarde’s  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , or the existing  $\delta$   $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , we must in any case read  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ; and what I propose involves less alteration than the emendation which Lagarde has introduced into the text. Wieseler’s  $\delta$   $\mu\upsilon\theta\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$  is very weak. A fable might become a dogma, but a fabulous god would not be one.

## HOMILY IV. 19.

Clement wishes that young people should not be taught at school the current Greek mythology, and that the theatres and books containing it should be avoided, and the cities also devoted to it, if that were possible. He then gives his reason thus: *κακῶν γὰρ μαθημάτων γέμοντες καὶ πνέοντες τοῖς συναμιλλωμένοις ὥσπερ λύσσαν τοῖς πλῆσιον μεταδιδόασιν ὧν πεπόνθασιν αὐτοί.* Of this passage Wieseler says that it is difficult to restore it to its integrity. He is quite right in that remark, for it needs no restoration. He has no doubt that dogs should be mentioned after *λύσσαν*. But this word is very frequently used of canine madness without this addition. The young people ‘full of evil teachings, and as it were breathing rabies on their rival schoolfellows, impart to those near them the ills which they have suffered themselves.’ The next sentence also needs nothing: ‘but what is most dreadful, *ὅστις παρ’ αὐτοῖς πλείον πεπαίδευται, πολλῷ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν οὗτος φρονεῖν ἐκτέτραπται.*’ Here Wieseler wants to introduce *μᾶλλον* after *πολλῷ*. It is quite unnecessary, the ellipsis being regular and natural. Wieseler would destroy everything idiomatic if he had his way.

## HOMILY IV. 23.

In the words *ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἔχων τὸν σκοπόν*, which he says are undoubtedly corrupt, he proposes to read *τὴν σκοπὴν* or *σκοπίαν*. This is quite unnecessary. We can translate as the words stand, 'having his scope (the object of his aim) in reference to man.'

## HOMILY V. 8.

In the clause *διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν πάντως ~~μα~~ προκειμένου τυχεῖν τῆς ἐρωμένης*, it would be an advantage to read *τοῦ* before *τυχεῖν*. 'By reason of love, it being my purpose by every means to win the loved one.' But, perhaps, this is not absolutely necessary.

In the sequel Wieseler takes great pains to correct the mythology. This he does by correcting the text in accordance with the Recognitions. I am not concerned with the Homilist's mythology. The ancient mythologists themselves and the Christian writers in exposing their fables are notoriously inconsistent with one another. The writer of the Recognitions and the Homilist may have purposely shown their independence, one of the other, by representing the mythology according to their own views. To alter one to suit the other is a very unjustifiable proceeding.

## HOMILY V. 12.

The MS. reading of the following passage is manifestly very incorrect. Speaking of Jupiter's metamorphosis of himself on the occasion of his marriage with Juno, the writer is made to say: *ὅποτε ἔμελλε γαμεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πρώτῃ εὐνῇ κατο τοὺς πολλοὺς μοιχοὺς εἰδώς, ὅν γινόμενος διὰ τῆς δοκούσης, ὡς ἔφην, ἀμαρτίας τὸν ἀναμάρτητον γάμον ἐποιήσατο*. That *κατο* should be *κατά* is obvious, and the *ὅν* should

plainly be οὐ. Lagarde then reads for μοιχούς, μοιχός, 'knowing that he was not an adulterer.' This, however, leaves κατὰ τοὺς πολλούς quite unexplained. Without noticing the corrections of others I would suggest to read δεδιώς for εἰδώς. It would all seem plain then. 'When he was about to marry, and as on the first occasion, like the generality of adulterers, being in fear (*i.e.* as if he were an adulterer, and afraid of detection), not being one, he accomplished the innocent marriage with the semblance of its being a sin.'

## HOMILY V. 18.

Zeno, as we read, διὰ πάντων τὸ θεῖον εἶναι λέγει, ἵνα γνώριμον τοῖς συνετοῖς γένηται ἵνα ὅ ἂν τις μιγῇ, ὥς ἑαυτῷ μίγνυται. I think we should read αὐτῷ for ἑαυτῷ, referring to τὸ θεῖον. The Pantheistic doctrine would not reduce everything else to identity with one's self, but all to identity with the Deity.

## HOMILY VI. 2.

On the third day of the discussion between Clement and Appion in Tyre, Appion gives his views of the popular mythology, under the veil of which 'the wisest of ancient men, who by their labour had themselves learned all truth, concealed the acquisition of this knowledge from those who were unworthy, and did not desire divine instruction.' As there was nothing really divine in Appion's view of this matter, we must understand the word 'divine' as a mere expression of admiration. For he proceeds to a detailed and formal denial of the whole series of fables, as matter of fact. The construction of the sentence τοὺς ἀναξίους καὶ μὴ ὀρεγομένους θεῶν μαθημάτων ἀπεκρύψαντα τὴν ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν, is difficult. The sentence would be easy without λαβεῖν. Instead of making this, as above, the

object of ἀπεκρύψαντο, perhaps we should suppose an ellipsis of ὥστε μή before λαβεῖν, 'concealed the knowledge so that they should not acquire it.'

He concludes his denial of the fables by rejecting the story of the judgment of Paris and its fatal consequences. 'Neither were the goddesses judged, nor did Paris award the apple to Aphrodite. Nor did Aphrodite, having been honoured, honour him in return by the marriage of Helen. For the honour of the goddess would not be made the occasion of a general war, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἀπειληφότος, καὶ ἀγχιστεύοντος τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης γένει.' This last clause is a very poor enhancement of the argument. The descent of the house of Priam from Zeus was too remote to make this relationship the climax of the reasons assigned. I am strongly tempted to think that the original text was καὶ Ἀγχίσου πιστεύοντος τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης γάμῳ.

#### HOMILY VI. 3.

Appion now begins his own allegorical interpretation, which I shall give at length, translating from the text of Lagarde, giving in Greek such words as are deserving of notice, or require any remark.

'There was a time when nothing existed but chaos and an indiscriminate mixture of unordered elements still jumbled together; nature itself confessing this, and the great men having understood it so to be. And I shall present to you as a witness Homer himself, the greatest of the great in wisdom, who said of the confusion of old, ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε, as all having had their genesis from thence, and after resolution of the liquid and earthy substance, brought back again to their original nature, which is chaos. And Hesiod, in his Theogony, says:—ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα χάος ἐγένετο (γένετ' apud ipsum, 116). But the ἐγένετο plainly signified that they had come into existence as things produced, γεγενῆσθαι ὡς γενητά, not that they always existed as ἀγένητα. Orpheus also likens the chaos to an egg, in which

the confusion of the first elements existed. This Hesiod supposes to be chaos, which Orpheus calls an egg produced, having been projected from endless matter, and brought into existence in the following manner :—

In the passage from which the quotation from Hesiod is taken all gods and natural objects were produced from Earth and Heaven and dark Night, and Appion supposes a succession of such productions resolved again into chaos.

## HOMILY VI. 4.

‘The tetragenous matter being possessed of life, and being a kind of entire endless abyss (*βυθός*), ever-flowing, and carried indiscriminately, and pouring on one another at different times myriad imperfect combinations, *κράσεις*, and on that account resolving them in disorder, and gasping as a living being for generation, incapable of restraint’ (*κεχηνότος ὥς εἰς γένεσιν ζῶον δεθῆναι μὴ δυναμένου*, which may also be rendered ‘as for generation of a living being’), ‘it happened once on a time, *συνέβη ποτέ*, the endless sea itself being driven round by its own nature, that by a natural motion it flowed from itself into itself as a whirlpool, and mingled the substances in an orderly manner; and thus *ἐξ ἀκονοστοῦ* the most useful of all, what was fittest for the genesis of a living being, as if in a funnel flowed to the middle of all, and by the whirlpool that carried all along went to a depth, and drew to itself the surrounding air, *πνεῦμα*, and as gathered into the most generative state made a discriminate composition, *κριτικὴν σύστασιν*. For as a bubble is wont to be produced in a liquid, so a shell, *κύτος*, sphere-like on all sides, was gathered together. Afterwards, having become impregnated itself in itself, borne up by the sulphureous air, *θειώδους πνεύματος*, that caught it, it emerged into very great light, *τι τοῦτο ἀποκύημα*, as having been brought forth from the endless abyss a living creature, *δημιούργημα*, resembling the periphery of eggs, and the speed of flying, *καὶ τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῶν ὠν προσεικὸς καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς πτήσεως*.’

So far the fourth chapter.

In the above the phrase ἐξ ἀκουστοῦ would signify 'in an unheard-of way,' which is very inappropriate. Wieseler would have it ἐξακοντιστόν, which would mean 'shot out.' But this is both a shot and a miss. Davies proposed ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν πάντων, said by Dressel to be approved by Lobeck. 'Each of all' is not an elegant combination. It is better, I think, with much less change, to read ἐξ ἀκουσίου, 'involuntarily,' which falls in with the συνέβη ποτέ just before, the design being clearly to express the accidental occurrence of the entire evolution.

I have rendered the words θειώδους πνεύματος, 'the sulphureous air,' instead of *divino spiritu*, as in the Latin. There was certainly nothing really divine intended, and both the form θειώδους, and the blaze of light, as if the sulphureous vapour was kindled by the rapid motion, an effect well known to the ancients, seems to me to make what I have given to be the true meaning, notwithstanding a couple of expressions which I shall shortly notice.

The words τι τοῦτο ἀποκύημα seem incorrect; I think we should read τι τοιοῦτο.

In the last clause Wieseler would have us read τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῷ ὧν προσευκὸς καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς πτήσεως. This would mean 'resembling the egg in its periphery, and in the rapidity of its flying.' But though birds fly, their eggs do not.

#### HOMILY VI. 5.

'I would have you, therefore, understand Kronos to be time, χρόνος, and Rhea, τὸ ῥέον, the flowing part of the liquid substance, because matter all carried along by time brought forth like an egg the whole surrounding sphere-like sky; which at first was full of the generative yelk, γονίμου μνέλου, as if it were capable of giving birth to elements and colours of every kind; and yet it brought this display of every kind out of one substance and one colour.

For as in the offspring of a peacock there appears a single colour of the egg, but potentially it has in itself myriad colours of that which is about to be brought to maturity, so also the life-possessing egg engendered from endless matter, being moved out of the underlying and ever-flowing matter, displays variations of every kind. For within the periphery a certain living being of double sex is made into form *προνοία τοῦ ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῷ θείου πνεύματος*, which Orpheus calls Phanes, because when it appeared, αὐτοῦ φανέντος, the universe shone forth from it by the light of the most brilliant of the elements, fire brought to maturity in the liquid. And it is not incredible, because in the case of will-o'-the-wisps, for example's sake, Nature has also granted us to behold liquid light.'

In the above 'the foresight of the divine spirit existing in it' must not be taken as indicating anything really divine. It is merely a rhetorical or poetic impersonation, with perhaps a play on the *θειώδους πνεύματος*, already noticed. This impersonation is made to meet the impersonation of the sun by the Phanes of the so-called Orphic verses. In these Orphic Fragments Phanes is plainly a personification conjoined with other physical and insensible objects and natural powers and states. Thus in Fragment v., Gesner, p. 364, we have the Orphic oath, of which the oath in the *Contestatio* prefixed to the *Homilies* is an imitation, as I have already noted, as follows:—

Ναὶ μὴν ἀθανάτων γεννήτορας αἶεν ἶόντας,  
Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, γαῖαν καὶ οὐρανὸν ἥδε σελήνην,  
ἡέλιόν τε, Φάνητα μέγαν, καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

Here Phanes is identified with the Sun, but that is the Sun preceding and producing the immortals, and is purely physical, like the other particulars. It is needless to quote other passages to the same effect. Besides *προνοία*, taken literally, implies intelligence, and we see presently that intelligence was a much later product in the course of

evolution. It is further to be remarked, that in Clement's subsequent recapitulation of this theory, this *θεῖον πνεῦμα* appears as *θεῖρμον πνεῦμα*, ch. 13, which leads one to think that *θεῖρμον* should be read here, instead of *θεῖλου*. In that case *προνοία* might be a rhetorical metonymy for *quod provisum erat*, the stock of warm air.

## HOMILY VI. 6.

Appion goes on to say :—

'The first compacted egg, however, having been a little warmed' (or warmed underneath, *ὑποθερμανθέν*), 'is broken by the living being within, and having been formed into shape, comes forth somewhat as Orpheus says,

*κραναίου σχισθέντος πολυχανδέος ὤου.*

And thus αὐτοῦ τοῦ προεληλυθότος φανέντος with great force, the shell, κύτος, receives its harmony, and retains' (or holds forth, ἴσχει), its orderly marshalling, τὴν διακόσμησιν, but it takes the first seat as on a summit of heaven, shining also in unspeakable ways around the unlimited world, αἰῶνα. But the generative matter left behind within the shell, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ τῇ χρόνῳ ὑποκειμένης ἕως φυσικῆς ὑποζέουσα ἡ θερμότης, discriminated the substances of all things. For the lower part of it first as a sediment by its gravity went down to the parts below, which on account of the weight and pressure, and the great quantity, πλῆθος, of the underlying substance they have entitled Pluto, and proclaimed to be King of Hades and of the dead.'

Before the discovery of the Ottobon. MS. the word *κραναίου* appeared in the editions as *κραμαίου*, in the otherwise unknown fragment of Orpheus given above. For this various emendations were offered. Schwegler proposed to read *κεραμείου* for *κραμείου* in the margin of P. Lobeck's *ἀκμαίου*, with *ὑπέκ* after *σχισθέντος*, has the advantage of making a complete hexameter, as would also,

what I think more probable, ἀρχαίου. But Hermann's ἡρικαπαίου is quite a groundless conjecture, though the word is Orphic. O., however, has κραναίου; and Lagarde, who himself examined P., says that it has κραναίου, bestimmt nicht κραμαίου. We may, therefore, feel sure that κραναίου is the reading that has the support of both MSS. This ἀπαξ λεγόμενον would denote skull-shaped, or helmet-shaped, which would suit the sense of the verse, and with καὶ prefixed would also make a complete hexameter, though with only a hephthemimeral cæsure.

The words αὐτοῦ τοῦ προεληλυθότος φανέντος, though they can be translated, have, I think, a couple of scriptural errors. I fancy the τοῦ is a mere repetition of the preceding syllable, and that φανέντος should be φάνητος, 'Phanes itself having come forth.'

In P. for ἴσχει there is in the margin *prima manu* ἀνατέλλει, followed by σχ., meaning scholium in a later hand. I have, therefore, given an alternative rendering for ἴσχει.

For ὑποκειμένης ἕως φυσικῆς, which is the reading of P., there is ὑποκειμένη ἕως φυσικῶς in O. Both are harsh and difficult constructions. We might read τέως for ἕως, and translate: 'as during much time the underlying warmth for so long naturally simmering, discriminated the substances of all things.' The warmth, ἡ θερμότης, is abstract for concrete, in apposition with the preceding ὅλη.

#### HOMILY VI. 7.

'They say, however, that this first and abundant, foul and rough, substance, was naturally swallowed up by Kronos, time, owing to its downward subsidence. But after the first sediment, the water that flowed together, and lay on the surface of the first lower formation, ὑποστάσει, they entitled Poseidon. But the remaining third, the clearest and uppermost, as being transparent, διανγές, fire, they named Zeus on account of its boiling, ζέουσιν,

nature. For the fire, tending upwards in relation to that which was below, was not swallowed up by Kronos, but, as I said, the fiery substance, being lively and tending upwards, flew up into the air itself, which is also most akin to wisdom, *φρονιμώτατος*, on account of its clearness. Zeus, however, that is the boiling substance, by its own warmth draws up the thinnest and divine spirit that was left behind in the underlying liquid, *τὸ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θεῖον ἀνιμάται πνεῦμα*, which they have called *Μῆτις*.'

In this passage O. has *ἰσχυρότατον* for *ἰσχύότατον*, but that is plainly incorrect. The word *ἀνιμάται* is due to Davies, O. having *ὀνόματι*, which is absurd, and P. *ονιματι*, a *vox nihili*. For *θεῖον πνεῦμα* I think we should read, as already noted, *θέρμον πνεῦμα*, as applied in Clement's recapitulation, already mentioned. The word *φρονιμώτατος* is evidently used as leading through *Metis* to the evolution of intelligence, as we shall presently see. Air was hitherto *ἐμφυχος*, but not intelligent.

#### HOMILY VI. 8.

'But it going to the summit of the æther itself, and having been swallowed up by it, as liquid mixed with warm, having produced therein its ever-moving palpitation begets intelligence, which they also name Pallas, on account of the palpitating, *διὰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι*, being most artistic wisdom, using which the ætherian artificer artistically formed, *ἐτεχνήσατο*, the entire cosmos. But from the pervading Zeus itself, the warmest æther, the air penetrates as far as the regions here, which they name Hera; and as having now gone underneath the clearest substance of the æther, as feminine in clearness compared with the superior, it was naturally thought the sister of Zeus, as generated from the same substance; but the wife, by reason of lying underneath as a woman.'

In the above the editions have *ὡς θήλεια τὴν καθαρότητα, πρὸς σύγκρισιν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀδελφῆ, κ. τ. λ.* The comma seems here manifestly out of its place. It should be removed, and placed after *κρείττονος*.

The cosmical evolution is here complete. The two concluding chapters of Appion's discourse are an application of the same method of allegory and etymological explanation to the names and supposed qualities and functions of other deities, in connexion with states and circumstances of this lower world. It is unnecessary to abstract this. The real interest of the discourse ends with the completion of the cosmical evolution. The whole is only an allegorical representation of purely physical operations, from which intelligent design is excluded. As Clement afterwards says, ch. 20: 'Those who obliquely physiologize concerning gods have done away with the existence of the gods, resolving their forms, εἰδη, by the allegory into the substances of the world.'

Appion at last observes that Clement is absorbed in thought, supposes he is not attending, and breaks off, saying that if he does not attend there is no use in his discoursing at all. Clement bids him not to think he was insensible to what he had been saying. He understands it all, and has not heard it now for the first time. To show him this he proposes to recapitulate Appion's theory in brief, supplying some omissions, and carrying it a little farther. This by Appion's desire he proceeds to do.

#### HOMILY VI. 12.

In this chapter the particulars are briefly repeated until we arrive at Zeus flying up to the higher regions. I only notice, that what in ch. 7 is εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέπτη τὸν ἄερα, ὃς καὶ φρονιμώτατός ἐστι διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα, appears in Clement's words as εἰς τὸν ἡγεμονικώτατον ἀνέπτη αἰθέρα. This last word is much more suitable than Appion's ἄερα, and I think, therefore, that αἰθέρα should be read there also.

## HOMILY VI. 13.

In this chapter he supplies an omission. The bonds of *Κρόνος* are the compacting of heaven and earth, as he has heard others allegorize, but the *ἀποκοπή τῶν μορίων* is the separation and discrimination of the elements, 'because all from their proper nature, *ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως*, were cut off and separated, to be ordered, each by themselves.' Here we are not to understand that the elements were separated from their proper nature. The words precede the verbs, and we must take *ἐκ* to denote the occasion or reason of the separation. He goes on to say: 'And time no longer generates, but the things that had been generated by it make their successions by a law of nature.' Clement has made no remark on this breach in the course of evolution, but we may suppose it was intended to be observed, that time, which had previously been of such potent influence, is now supposed to operate no longer in the course of evolution. The modern doctrine of evolution supposes time to operate as effectually now as it always did. He proceeds then: 'Aphrodite, that had emerged from the abyss, is the generative substance from the liquid with which *τὸ θερμὸν πνεῦμα* having been mixed causes the love, *ἔρωτα*, of mixture, and brings to perfection the beauty of the world.' Appion had merely explained Aphrodite as denoting *μίξις καὶ γένεσις*. Clement here uses the phrase *θερμὸν πνεῦμα*, on which I have already remarked.

## HOMILY VI. 14.

Clement next proceeds to allegorize the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. 'The marriage symposium, where Zeus celebrated the supper for the Nereid Thetis and the beautiful Peleus, has the following allegory, that you may know that without you, Appion, we have heard such

things :—The symposium is the world, the twelve are the heavenly surrounding fixtures of the Fates (if the word Fates is correct), οἱ δὲ δώδεκα τὰ οὐράνια τῶν Μοιρῶν περιστηρίγματα, which they call the signs of the Zodiac, ζῳδία, Prometheus was the forethought, προμήθεια, by which all things were made, Peleus was clay, that from earth was περινοηθείς into the genesis of man, and mingled with the Nereid, that is water' (in Modern Greek τὸ νερό).

The twelve above mentioned, the twelve celestial deities that attended the supper, are explained to be the signs of the Zodiac. I am persuaded that Μοιρῶν should be printed with a small μ, μοιρῶν, in the sense of divisions. This would then be an easy corruption of μορίων, the proper term for the divisions of the Zodiac, as used by the astronomers ; while each μόριον had 30 μοῖραι, or degrees. In explaining Prometheus, Clement introduces the idea of foresight. Appion had made the æther as an artificer to employ intelligence, after it was evolved, in the contrivance of the Cosmos. As design is apparently manifested in the works of nature, the theories which exclude design cannot be expounded without using language which implies design. The present theory seems to have admitted intelligent design at a certain point in the evolution, but vests it in an unintelligent artificer. The word περινοηθείς has given people trouble. One would have παραληφθείς, another παραπλασθείς, and Wieseler περινηθείς, which is ridiculous. They have not perceived that Clement uses the word περινοηθείς as a satiric touch, implying that the entire theory existed only in the imagination of the inventors of it.

'But from the mixing of the two, water and earth, was the first man, not begotten but moulded complete, and from not having applied his lips to the breast he was named Achilles.' Then follow the words, ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀκμὴν, ἥτις κ.τ.λ. Here Dressel, following Cotelierus, has

ἀκμή. The relative shows there must be a feminine antecedent; and as ἀκμήν cannot be an accusative here, it must be an adverb which is quite senseless, though supported by both MSS. It would be a facile emendation to read with Davies κατ' ἀκμήν, if it would answer the writer's purpose. But what we want is not the mention of the state of Achilles, but an allegorical interpretation of his mythical personality. We shall also presently find significance in καί as it stands. The entire sentence is as follows:—  
 ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀκμήν, ἥτις ἐὰν ἐπιθυμίαν, Πολυξένην, ὡς ἀληθείας ἀλλοτρίαν οὖσαν καὶ ξένην ἐπιθυμῇ, ἰψῷ ὄφειως ἀναιρεῖται βέλει κατὰ πτέρναν καὶ κατὰ ἵχνος ἐνέρποντος τοῦ θανάτου.  
 Here we are in a sea of troubles. First of all ἐπιθυμίαν—ἐπιθυμῇ is a most improbable tautology. Davies proposed to reject the first and to put the second in its place. This would have the advantage, no doubt, of avoiding also the difficulty arising from the explanation of Polyxena, which has nothing to do with ἐπιθυμία in the usual sense of that word when used without qualification, namely, sexual passion. But, the inconsistency of the explanation of Polyxena with ἀκμή, in its ordinary signification, would still remain. Schwegler has proposed a couple of transformations of the sentence, but, as they are violent and leave all the difficulties as regards the meaning just as they were, I need not mention them further. Now, as the name Polyxena only denotes multiplicity and strangeness, we must find some justification of the mention of truth, both in what is intended by ἐπιθυμία and in the preceding clause, which is to be explained allegorically. In that we have seen that the reading of the MSS. is καὶ ἀκμήν. The final ν is impossible in this connexion, yet not likely to have crept in by pure accident. It seems to me to be the first letter of some short word, the rest of which has been lost. If we suppose that to have been νοῦ, by the addition of two letters, it will answer the requirements of the case,

and will give significance to the *καί*. Besides his well-known bodily vigour, Achilles *also* denotes vigour of mind, his education by Phœnix and Chiron being one of the most noted particulars of his story. Thus the mention of truth in the explanation of Polyxena is justified so far as this clause is concerned. It should be observed that, within a few lines we have the ἀκμή ἡλικίας represented as giving the victory to ἐπιθυμία in its natural sense in explanation of the story of Paris, and it is not likely that so able a writer should have, in so close proximity, given a similar explanation of two parts of the same history.

If now we retain ἐπιθυμίαν, it must denote not the subjective passion, but the object of desire in apposition with Polyxena. If this is possible, it is scarcely probable, especially when followed by the verb ἐπιθυμῶ. It would avoid this difficulty if we read ἐπιθυμία, as in the Hebraism of the Gospel ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, meaning earnest desire. This would be more probable than ἐπιθυμίαν, but unlikely as separated from the verb, and affording no opposition to ἀλήθεια. I shall simply suggest to read ἔπη θυμηδῆ in the sense of seductive tales. We have the same number of letters, and all the vowels would sound alike to a copyist from dictation, owing to the Greek iotacism, so that the corruption to ἐπιθυμίαν would be not unlikely. The plural form in apposition with Polyxena would also agree with the multiplicity expressed in the first part of that name. According to the literal story it was, no doubt, for the ἔπη θυμηδῆ of courtship that Achilles met Polyxena in the temple where he met his death.

## HOMILY VI. 15.

Clement proceeds to say that Hera is decorum, Athena bravery, Aphrodite pleasures, Hermes, hermeneutic speech. Then, 'the shepherd Paris is unreasoning and barbarian

impulse. If then *κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἡλικίας* the reason, which as a shepherd tends the soul, happens to be barbarian, and in neglect of what is useful, having thrust aside manliness and chastity, chooses only pleasures, and gives the victory to *ἐπιθυμία*, as receiving in return delights from it: he that has thus wrongly given judgment will receive the delight to the ruin of himself and his.' I have already referred to this passage. That Clement is exercising his own ingenuity would appear from the sequel. Eris is contentious malice, and the golden apple would be, *ἄν εἴη*, riches.

## HOMILY VI. 17.

Clement now says, he wonders that when these things could be profitably expressed directly, those that enveloped them in oblique enigmas and wicked fables should be called sensible and wise men, who, as if impelled by an evil demon, had beguiled almost all men. 'For,' he says, 'these things are not enigmas, but real offences of the gods; and it was not right *ἐλέγχειν αὐτοὺς*, nor to set them forth at all to men for imitation; or they were spoken (*ἐλέχθη*. P. has *ελεγχθεῖ*, and O. *ελεγχθῆναι*) enigmatically, not having been really done by the gods, and they did wrong who are called wise by you.' In the second member of this dilemma Lagarde has rightly substituted *ἐλέχθη* for the manifestly corrupt readings of the MSS. But perhaps he ought to have applied a similar correction to the first member. It was not to be supposed that the early tellers of these stories, should convict the gods, or refute the stories. Nor could Clement mean that it was not right to do so, as he had himself already exposed them in the earlier part of the discussion. I suppose we should therefore read *λέγειν*. 'It was not right that they should tell or at all set them forth to men for imitation.'

## HOMILY VI. 18.

Διόπερ μὴ σόφους, ἀλλὰ κακοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς τοιούτους νόμιζε. Schwegler has only σόφους δαίμονας, and Dressel says, 'reposui vbb. ἀλλὰ κακοὺς in ed. Schwegleriana omitta.' Lagarde follows him without remark. These words seem to me out of place. The writer had just made Clement say that the tellers of these stories were impelled by an evil demon, and it is not likely that he should immediately call them demons themselves. If we omit the words, we might read σόφους δαήμονας, 'wise men possessed of knowledge.' He says the more impious of these were they who wished them to appear true, 'who, if they wished to be pious, ought themselves (as I just now said), if the gods had really done the evil things told about them in song, with reverence towards gods, to cover with some more becoming fables their disreputable actions. This bears out the reading λέγειν for ἐλέγχειν, which I proposed in the last note.

## HOMILY VI. 23.

In this chapter Clement notices the pictures publicly exhibited of Jupiter and Leda; τὸν δι' αὐτῶν ὄντα πατέρα θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγουσι Διὶ δὲ συνεσχηματισμένον, ὃν πολλοὶ Δία ἀναγράψαντες ἐν πίνακι δημοσίᾳ ἀνατιθέασιν. For the words ὃν πολλοὶ Δία ἀναγράψαντες, Valckenaer proposed a considerable alteration, adopted into his text by Lagarde, taking down from the preceding clause the words λέγουσι συνεσχηματισμένον, and putting them after Δία, and then for ἀναγράψαντες reading χῆνα, γράψαντες. This not being necessary is too good to be true. Clement commenting on the indecent representation, says he could wish they had done this in the case of their king for the time being, that they might learn from the wrath of a temporal sovereign, and that a man, and the punishment they would receive, how

they ought to render befitting honour. He then adds, in a sentence specially interesting as bearing on modern agnosticism, 'I say this, not as already knowing, *ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν ὄντως θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐγγνωμονῶν ὁμολογῶ* *Εἰ καὶ τί θεὸς οὐκ οἶδα, ἀλλ' οὖν γε σαφῶς ὅτι θεός, νομίζω εἰδέναι*, 'though I do not fully know what God is, at least, however, I think I know clearly that there is a God. There is a special propriety in the use of the word *ἐπιγνοὺς* in this beautiful passage. He then proceeds to give in the succeeding chapters his reasons for belief in the existence of God.

## HOMILY VI. 24.

The first sentence is as follows:—*Αὐτίκα γοῦν τὰ πρῶτα τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα θεὸς εἶναι οὐ δύναται τὰ ὑπὸ ἄλλου γεγόμενα, οὐχ ἡ μίξις, οὐχ ἡ κρᾶσις, οὐχ ἡ γένεσις κ. τ. λ.* The punctuation here is incorrect. It would not have been Clement's purpose to assert gratuitously that the four elements were created. Appion had assumed that they had been mixed up in the original chaos. Had Clement, therefore, meant to assert that they had been created, he would hardly have done so without giving a reason. Besides, it was self-evident that the elements, whether created or uncreated, could not be God. And had he wished to assign as a reason for his assertion that they were created, he would, probably, have omitted the article, merely saying: 'having been created by another.' There should, therefore, be a colon after *δύναται*. He then begins a new sentence, 'The things done by another, not mixture, not temperament, not genesis, not the visible *κύτος* that embraces everything, nor the sediment flowing together in Hades, not the water overflowing it, not the boiling substance, not the air from it that penetrates the regions here (can be God).' There is a natural ellipsis of *θεὸς εἶναι οὐ δύναται* to be supplied from the first sentence. Not for that

first sentence, but for the sequel, he then gives a reason : ' For the four elements, if they had stood apart, could not without some great artificer, have been mingled for the genesis of a living being ; or, if they had been always attached to one another, even so they are harmonized together by an artificer mind, that they might be able to preserve the due proportion of each to each, and might have their condition well circumscribed, and all the parts within receive their fitting harmony ; and in like manner the artificer mind might exactly fix the proper places of each with all beauty of form. In a word, I shall say that other things, whatever a living being ought to have, were nothing deficient to the great living being of this whole revolving universe.' This last phrase is τῆς ὅλης περιφορᾶς, an expression borrowed from Plato.

HOMILY VI. 25.

Clement proceeds :—

' Thus it was necessary that there should be some mind, an unbegotten artificer, who either brought together the elements that stood apart, or artistically mingled them, if existing together, for genesis of a living being, and out of all brought one work to perfection ; for it is impossible that without some greater mind a work of perfect wisdom should be completed. Nor, moreover, can love, *ἔρως*, be an artificer of all things, not desire, *ἐπιθυμία*, not force, *ἰσχύς*, not any other such thing, which being affections by their nature occur, or depart. But neither is that God which is borne (brought), *φερόμενον*, by another, nor certainly that which is altered by time or nature, and resolved into no longer existing.'

I have copied out this passage for its own interest, though it calls for no emendation. At this point word is brought that Peter has arrived from Cæsarea, and the discussion comes to an end.

## HOMILY VII. 4.

In Peter's address to the crowd assembled in Tyre we find the following, as printed by Lagarde: *ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ἄρῆσκοντα τῷ θεῷ τὸ αὐτῷ προσεύχασθαι, αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν ὡς πάντα νόμῳ κριτικῷ δίδοντα*. There seems an unmeaning tautology in *αἰτεῖν* immediately after *προσεύχασθαι*. Lagarde's note is as follows:—'*αἰτεῖν* Cotelier [das wort war *εἶν* geschrieben gewesen], *ἔστιν* op.' Notwithstanding the circumflex on *εἶν* in the MSS., I suspect the original word was *τεῖν*, and there is no reason for rejecting the *ἔστιν* after it.

## HOMILY VII. 5.

As the result of Peter's discourse, we are told that the people 'were all sitting in crowds, in the midst of the markets, in sackcloth and ashes, repenting of their former sins.' The repenting in sackcloth and ashes might have been suggested by our Lord's words respecting the people of Tyre and Sidon. But their sitting thus in public seems to indicate a more particular acquaintance of the writer, either with a still existing local custom, or with the verses of Menander preserved by Porphyry, *De Abstinētia*, iv. 15. He says the custom of abstaining from fish continued to the time of Menander, for he says:—

παράδειγμα τοὺς Σύρους λάβε·  
ὅταν φάγωσ' ἰχθὺν ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τινα  
αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν, τοὺς πόδας καὶ γαστέρα  
οἰδοῦσιν, ἔλαβον σακίον, εἴτ' εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν  
ἐκάθισαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ κόπρον καὶ τὴν θεὸν  
ἐξιλιάσαντο τῷ ταπεινῶσαι σφόδρα.

J. QUARRY.

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# HERMATHENA.



## GREEK LYRIC POETRY.<sup>1</sup>

THIS work has two reasons for its existence which classical books now-a-days rarely combine. It is really called for by the needs of both learners and teachers, and it is executed with conscientious care, and no lack of fruitful research. The prefatory articles, dealing with the rise, the development, and the general characteristics of Greek melic poetry, are admirably written, and are clearly the product of an intelligence not only well versed in classic lore, but also equipped with a wide knowledge of modern poetry and general literature. The author does not strain after originality of view; still less does he exalt some ancient song-writers by trying to tear from the brows of others the garland that has clung there so long with so much glory. He estimates each without exaggeration or undue depreciation, but shows a thorough sympathy with the great qualities which have made the literature of ancient Greece a model in every department

<sup>1</sup> A complete collection of the surviving passages from the Greek song writers, arranged with prefatory articles, introductory matter, and commentary. By George S. Farnell, M.A., Assistant

Master at St. Paul's School; late Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1891.

of art and thought. His general view of the history of Greek melic poetry in Article VIII. is very interesting. It is strange to reflect that it took, perhaps, its highest flight in an age characterized by conditions which we should be disposed to regard as prosaic. 'Commerce,' writes Mr. Farnell, 'with its accompaniments of maritime adventure, was fast becoming the important feature in Lesbian life. Thus Sappho's brother was a wine merchant, and Pittacus was essentially a leader of the middle classes, and had a keen eye to business. But this commercial life was far from fostering material or prosaic sentiments in the nation, for the imagination was fired by the stories of the sea, and of the new lands and peoples that were met with, and by contact with the great kingdoms of Asia Minor, with their ancient traditions and civilization.'

Mr. Farnell has given us all that is readable in the melic literature of Hellas, from the fierce epodes of Archilochus, and the boisterously independent songs of Alcman and Alcaeus, down to the cringing whines in which expiring Greece flattered Demetrius Poliorcetes and T. Flamininus; and the collection ends with an ode ascribed to Melinno of Locri, probably written in the time of Pyrrhus or later, in which the Sapphic measure is prostituted to the glorification of the conquerors of Hellas. All this most interesting body of literature may now for the first time be conveniently studied by the average student, who will find enough help in the notes and introductions to carry him on without too laborious an effort. He will be struck by the picture presented of early Sparta, where, 'instead of being a species of barracks, both for males and females, the town seems to be alive with bands of dancing maidens, engaged now in earnest supplication to the gods, now in mirthful poetic intercourse with each other or with their leader, the poet; instead of the traditional "black broth," the tables are

heavy with "cakes and ale" in abundance and variety, while around the town and its pleasant life there extends the beautiful scenery of the mountains, which for so many centuries secured to Sparta that peace which to the poet's eye they typified in their outward form.'<sup>1</sup>

It is curious to observe how often a familiar modern sentiment can be traced to a very ancient Greek source. Shelley was not the first poet who 'learned in suffering what he taught in song.' Aristides tells us that Alcman ὦν ἐρωτικὸς πανὺ εὐρετῆς γέγονε τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν. Tennyson's Northern Farmer maintained that

'The poor in a loomp is bad.'

We find so early a poet as Alcaeus praising the dictum of the Spartan Aristodamus—

χρήματ' ἄνηρ, πένιχρος δ' οὐδεὶς πέλετ'  
ἔσλος οὐδὲ τίμιος.

The sentiment of the beautiful North Country ballad in which the mother addresses her sleeping child—

'The wild wind is ravin',  
Thy minnie's heart's sair,  
The wild wind is ravin',  
But ye dinna care,'

has its exact counterpart in the song of Danae over the sleeping Perseus, the most exquisite fragment which has remained to us from the poetry of Simonides—

ἄλμαν δ' ὑπερθε τεῶν κομᾶν βαθεῖαν  
περιόντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις  
οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον κ. τ. λ.

We have all read how

'Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,  
O'er all the ills of life victorious,'

<sup>1</sup> εὐδουσιν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαί τε καὶ φάραγγες κ. τ. λ.

Alcman, frag. iii.

but few perhaps are aware that Bacchylides said of a man in his cups,

αὐτίχ' ὁ μὲν πόλεων κρήδεμνα λύνει  
πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσιν δοκεῖ.

' Handsome is that handsome does' is as old as Sappho (frag. xxvii.) :

ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ὅσσον ἴδην πέλεται κάλος,  
ὁ δὲ κᾶγαθος αὐτίκα καὶ κάλος ἔσσεται.

We have, in a fragment of Timocreon, what is probably the very earliest instance of a poet venting his spite against a rival by parodying a literary mannerism. Simonides had written an epigram which may be freely rendered,

' Be this the song of Alcmena's son,  
Of Alcmena's son be this the song.' <sup>1</sup>

Timocreon thus announces and mimicks his rival's ode :

' A silly song came to my ears willy nilly,  
Willy nilly it came, this song so silly.' <sup>2</sup>

One result of the study of such a collection as this of Greek songs is the conviction that in literature at least 'there is nothing new under the sun,' not even the modern nursery's invocation of fair weather in the rhyme,

' Rain, rain, go to Spain,  
And never, never, come back again.'

The Greek children did just the same when they cried

ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἦλιε.

And we have in the words sung in the tortoise game and in blind man's buff all the true notes of nursery literature,

<sup>1</sup> Μοῦσά μοι Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου υἱον κείδε,  
υἱον Ἀλκμήνης κείδε Μοῦσά μοι καλλισφύρου.

<sup>2</sup> Κηρία με προσῆλθε φλυαρία οὐκ ἐθέλοντα,  
οὐκ ἐθέλοντά με προσῆλθε Κηρία φλυαρία.

Frag. iv.

including archaism, which strongly characterizes our own nursery songs, as in the verse 'busy body full of soigns,' which children of to-day repeat without at all suspecting that 'soigns' is the French 'soins,' and means 'business, trouble.'

I add a few suggestions as to the reading or meaning of some of the fragments.

Archilochus, xi. 2-4—

Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων  
ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἔθηκε νύκτ' ἀποκρύψας φάος  
ἡλίου λάμποντος· λυγρὸν δ' ἦλθ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους δέος.

The metre is usually mended by correcting λυγρὸν to ὑγρὸν, but this is a change the converse of which would be more scientific. It would be better to write

ἡλιον λάμποντα· λυγρὸν κ. τ. λ.

The accusative would be governed by ἀποκρύψας φάος = τυφλώσας or ἀμαυρώσας. The difficulty involved in this perfectly normal construction would have caused the change of ἡλιον λάμποντα to ἡλίου λάμποντος by a copyist ignorant, as they generally were, of the laws of metre. A similar corruption has, I think, defaced verses in the *Danae and Perseus* of Simonides—

οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον πορφυρέα  
κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι πρόσωπον καλὸν υ - -

I think we should here restore διαίνων (some MSS. give προφαίνων), and regard the words πρόσωπον καλὸν διαίνων as equivalent to 'weeping at,' and governing φθόγγον. This usage is characteristic of lyric poetry; so also is the zeugmatic use of τίθει in Alcman viii.—

ἐπὶ δ' ἱμερον  
ὕμνῳ καὶ χαρίεντα τίθει χορόν,

where *τίθει* stands both for *addas* and *reddas*, 'add loveliness to the hymn, and *make* beauteous the chorus,' and reminds us of Pindar's *ταῦτα νόψ τιθέμεν εὐανδρόν τε χώραν*, Pyth. i. 77, 'to *lay* these things to heart, and *make* blessed with seed the place.'

In the same fragment of Archilochus, perhaps, we should read in the last verse

*τοῖσι δ' ἡδύνητ' ὄρος*

for the corrupt

*τοῖσι δ' ἡδὺ ἦν ὄρος.*

The meaning of the last lines of the fragment would then be, 'Let none wonder, even when the beasts of the field usurp the dolphin's watery haunts, and love the sounding firths better than the dry land, while to the dolphins the mountain grows dear' (*ἡδύνηται* = 'is sweetened').

In Alcman xxvii.—

*ἀνῆρ δ' ἐν ἀρμένιοισιν  
ἄλιτρος ἦστ' ἐπὶ θάκῳ κατὰ πέτρας  
ὀρέων μὲν οὐδὲν δοκέων δέ,*

I cannot think that *ἐν ἀρμένιοις* could possibly mean 'in bonds,' or 'among those bound.' It surely means 'in the midst of plenty,' and is the regular lyric equivalent (common in Pindar) for the epic *θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ*. Tantalus, the guilty one, sits, 'mid all good cheer,' at the banquet of the gods, but, even when it sees it not, he thinks he sees the impending stone.

In Sapph. xvi., if we are to adopt Bergk's *δύσι πάχεσιν* for *δυσπαχεία*, I should prefer to understand the words to mean 'with my two arms,' not 'by two cubits.'

Sapph. xviii. should, perhaps, run

*οὐδὲ τᾶν δοκίμῳμι προσιδοισᾶν φάος ἀλίῳ*

instead of

*οὐδ' ἴαν . . . προσιδοισαν.*

Sapph. xxv.,

ἔγω δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν, καί μοι ὤ - τὸ λάμπρον  
ἔρος ἀλείου - ὤ ὤ - καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχεν.

Athenaeus xv. 687, writes, Σαπφῶ ὑδέσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἀβρότητος ἀφελεῖν, 'Sappho thought it a pity to divorce luxury from virtue,' and then paraphrases the passage of Sappho thus, ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν <ἐν> αὐτῇ (I have added ἐν). Hence I think the word to be supplied in the first verse is ἔχει, and in the second perhaps καὶ τὸ φίλον; then, λελόγχειν being written for λέλογχεν, the fragment would mean 'I love luxury, and my desire of life includes the attainment of all that is splendid, pleasant, and good.'

In Simonides ii. 8, δνόφῳ ταθεῖς, 'outstretched in the gloom,' is in itself an unnatural expression, and is unsuitable to a child. Perhaps δνόφῳ δοθεῖς would be better, and δοθεῖν is used in a somewhat parallel sense in Fragments Miscellaneous and Anonymous vii. 6.

καὶ τὸ τεῦ πλάστιγγι δοθεῖν μακαριστότατον τελέθει.

Timocreon i. 12—

οἱ δ' ἥσθιον κηῦχοντο μὴ ὦραν Θεμιστοκλέος γενέσθαι.

This is one of the frequent attacks of Timocreon on Themistocles, but these words should not be rendered (as they are by Mr. Farnell), 'that the day of Themistocles might be no more,' i.e. 'that his ascendancy might come to an end.' The phrase ὁ μὴ ὦρασι was an imprecation; ὁ μὴ ὦρασι Θεμιστοκλέης would mean 'the cursed Themistocles'; μὴ ὦραν seems to be here a modification of the phrase, and thus κηῦχοντο μὴ ὦραν γενέσθαι Θεμιστοκλέος = κηῦχοντο μὴ ὦρασιν εἶναι Θεμιστοκλέα. The meaning is evidently 'they drank confusion to Themistocles.' The fact that there is a *hiatus* between μὴ and ὦραν adds probability to the theory that the phrase is a modification of the familiar

ὁ μὴ ὤρασι, in which μὴ always resists elision, and preserves the long quantity of the vowel.

Bacchylides vii. 7—

τί γὰρ ἐλαφρόν ἐτ' ἔστ' ἄπρηκτ' ὀδυρόμενον δονεῖν  
καρδίαν;

I cannot see what ἐλαφρόν could mean here; surely some word is required meaning 'what use,' or 'what sense,' is there in lamenting? Perhaps ἐχεφρόν. But perhaps, as Mr. Starkie suggests to me, ἐλαφρόν is used transitively, 'lightening, comforting,' as κούφα in Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 11 (where see Dissen's note).

Scolia ii. 3, for

ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,

which is unmetrical and tautological, read

ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατριδᾶν.

Scol. xviii. 4—

τῷ παρεόντι τρέχειν ἀνάγκη.

But παρεόντι is a prosaic word to apply to a wind. Perhaps παραέντι, from a verb παράημι.

Dr. Rutherford, in his Introduction to *Herondas*, says the meaning of προκυκλίζ has been there 'preserved almost by a miracle'; but it could, perhaps, have been inferred from προκύκλει, which means 'procure' in the sixth line of the swallow-song.

Fragg. Miscellaneous and Anonymous ix.—

οὐ χρυσὸς ἀγλαὸς σπανιώτατος ἐν θνατῶν δυσελπίστω βίῃ,  
οὐδ' ἀδάμας,  
οὐδ' ἀγρύρον κλίνει πρὸς ἄνθρωπον δοκιμαζόμεν' ἀστράπτει  
πρὸς ὄψεις,  
οὐδὲ γαίης εὐρυπέδου γόνιμοι βρίθοντες αἰτάρκεις γυῖαι,  
ὥς ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφράδμων νόησις.

The meaning of the whole fragment is, that nothing, however precious, is as rare as friendship; but the last half of the second verse is plainly corrupt, and Mr. Farnell's attempt to translate it is unsuccessful. I think the precious things indicated by the corrupt words are pictures, which would naturally find a place among other works of art and valuable possessions, and which, as will be remembered, adorn similes both in Aeschylus and in Euripides. I would read—

οὐδ' ἀργύρου κλῖναι πρὸς ἄνθρωπὸν τ' εἰκαζόμεν' ἄστροφοι προσόψεις.

'Moveless visages likened unto man,' seems to be not an unnatural way of describing 'pictures' in poetry.

Mr. Farnell concludes his excellent work with a selection from the fragments of Pindar, with very instructive notes. The Epinician Odes themselves, though essentially melic poetry, are not included, as they have so frequently received separate treatment.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

## THE VULGATE OF ST. MARK.

THE scope of Bishop Wordsworth's great edition of the Vulgate was so fully described in HERMATHENA for 1889 that it is not needful to add anything to what was there said by Mr. Abbott. The second instalment of the N. T. has now appeared, containing the Gospel according to St. Mark;<sup>1</sup> and we note that St. Luke's Gospel is announced as in the press.

The value of such an edition as this for critical purposes can hardly be over-estimated. The problem of ascertaining the true Hieronymian version amid the divergences of the MSS. is one which has not hitherto been attacked in any serious or systematic way. Revisions of the Vulgate have, indeed, been made from time to time, but previous reconstructors of the text seem to have set about their task without any due recognition of its difficulty. The 'authorized' text set forth by the authority of Clement VIII. in 1592 (which is the version described in common speech as '*the Vulgate*') was, no doubt, far better than the Sixtine edition; but that all the needful data were not taken into account when it was issued is well known. However, as the Clementine Vulgate is in the hands of many scholars who do not possess the collations which have been published of the more important codices, on which any sound critical edition must be based, it may be worth while to set down

<sup>1</sup> *Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit Iohannes Wordsworth in operis societatem adsumto H. I. White. Partis prioris fasciculus alter MDCCCXCI.*

the results of a rough comparison of its text of St. Mark's Gospel with that now issued by Bishop Wordsworth and his colleague Mr. White.

1. The first thing that will be observed is, that in a number of cases there seems to be no MS. authority at all for the readings of the Clementine edition, *e.g.* no MS. cited by the Bishop of Salisbury contains *dominus* in ii. 23, or *ave* in xiv. 45 (except L, which, however, omits *ait* before *ave*). These seem to be unauthorized insertions (probably due in the latter case to the parallel passage in St. Matthew), and are not warranted by the Greek text. Other instances, in which the received text seems to be without MS. authority, are—*quia* for the true reading *quod*, in v. 29; *vocavit* for *convocavit* (προσκαλεῖται), in vi. 7; *discumbentes* for *recumbentes* (ἀνακειμένους), in vi. 26, and *dixit* for *dicit* (λέγει) in vii. 28; whilst only one MS.—the Book of Kells—is cited as favouring *intrat* for *introit* in vii. 19. No doubt the editors of the new edition do not profess to have examined *all* existing MSS. of the Hieronymian version—so gigantic a task would be of little profit; but it is remarkable that in half-a-dozen instances in the shortest Gospel no MS. deemed worthy by them of collation supports the Clementine text.

2. In a large number of cases the critical text is nearer the Greek than the Clementine, *e.g.* the *tense* is preserved in the following:—*expellit* (ἐκβάλλει) for *expulit* in i. 12; *effunditur* (ἐκχεῖται) for *effundetur* in ii. 22; *consurrexit* (ἀνέστη) for *consurrexerit*, and *potest* (δύναται) for *poterit* in iii. 26. We have *cum duodecim* (σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα) for *duodecim* in iv. 10; *doctrinas precepta* (διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα) for *doctrinas et precepta* in vii. 7; *attulerunt* (ἤνεγκαν) for *attulerunt ei* in xii. 16; *timebant* (ἐφοβοῦντο) for *timemus* in xi. 32; *fili dauid iesu* (the order of the Greek) for *iesu fili dauid* in x. 47; *veniet* (ἔσται) for *evenient* in xi. 24; *super* (ἐπὶ) for *contra* in xiii. 8; *virtutis* (τῆς δυνάμεως *sine addit.*) for

*virtutis dei* in xiv. 62 ; *eum* (αὐτὸν) for *ihm* in xvi. 1. And, again, *novellum* for *novum* in ii. 22 is a great improvement, as keeping the distinction in the Greek between νέον and καινόν.

3. In the above passages the Greek is not doubtful; more interest attaches to the Latin text, when there are various readings in the original, for in such cases the rendering of Jerome becomes worthy of consideration, when we are weighing the conflicting claims of the Greek variants. In the following passages the new critical Latin text supports the reading of the best Greek MSS. *against* the Clementine Vulgate. In ii. 20 we have *in illa die* for *in illis diebus*, the best attested Greek being ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, though the *text. rec.* has ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. In v. 23 we have *manus* (τὰς χεῖρας) for *manum*; in viii. 13 we have *ascendens iterum* for *ascendit iterum navim et*, the best Greek being πάλιν ἐμβάς, without the addition εἰς τὸ πλοῖον of the *text. rec.*; in ix. 23 we have *credo* for *credo Domine*, the κύριε of the *text. rec.* being omitted in  $\aleph$ ABC; in ix. 14 we have *eum* for *ihm*, the only Greek uncial supporting the Clementine reading being D; in vii. 32 we have *deprecantur* for *deprecabantur*, corresponding to παρακαλοῦσιν, as against the less probable παρεκάλουν; and in xiv. 20 we have *mecum* for *mecum manum*, the preponderance of Greek authority being for the omission of τὴν χεῖρα. In these cases then, amongst others, the evidence of the best Greek MSS. is supported by the evidence of the best Latin MSS., and in these the Clementine Vulgate would lead us to an erroneous conclusion as to the evidence of Jerome's version.

4. In some other cases, however, we should be deceived in another way by trusting to the 'authorized' Vulgate. We find that the Clementine text is nearer the best Greek authority than the new critical edition in a few instances in the Gospel before us. Thus, Bishop Words-

worth adopts *in corda eorum* for *in cordibus eorum* in iv. 15, most Greek MSS. having ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν; *iunxit* for *coniunxit* in x. 9, the best attested Greek being συνέζευξεν; *ait* for *ait illi* in x. 20, the Greek being εἶπεν αὐτῷ; *usque in* for *usque intro in*, as the translation of ἕως ἔσω εἰς in xiv. 54; and inserts *amen* at the end of the Gospel, which is absent from the Clementine text, as from the best Greek authorities for the passage.

5. Some other changes from the authorized Vulgate (which I continue to cite as a standard, since it is in everyone's hands) are of sufficient importance to be mentioned, though not affecting the Greek. In v. 7 the critical reading is *summi*, not *altissimi* (which comes from Lc. viii. 28). In xiv. 10 we have *scariotis* for *iscariotes* (cf. also iii. 19 and xiv. 43); *non* for *nonne* in xi. 17 and xii. 24. In ix. 14 the editors place *expaverunt* in brackets, and omit *et*, remarking that the common reading *stupefactus est et expaverunt*, as a translation of ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, probably arises from a double version of the Greek, a gloss having crept into the text. Of philological interest is the ablative *mare*, which replaces *mari* in v. 13, in support of which the editors cite Lucr. vi. 695, and Ovid, *Trist.* v. 2, 20; and the form *hierosolyma* for *hierosolymam* in xi. 15 and xv. 41. *Sale* is omitted in the phrase *omnis victima sale sallietur* in ix. 49, which is somewhat remarkable as, though the whole clause is omitted by the best Greek MSS., the omission of ἀλί alone occurs only in a few cursives.

As the issuing of the *Prolegomena* to this edition has been postponed until the completion of the work, we have not yet any indication of the principles on which the editors have proceeded in balancing the claims of various readings. The *Codex Amiatinus* is, of course, very generally followed, but by no means always. For example, in vi. 21 Bishop Wordsworth has replaced the Clementine *natalis sui*, which has the support of nearly all the great

MS. authorities, by *natali suo* (τοῖς γενεαίοις αὐτοῦ). It is obvious that this is a probable correction; it is found in a respectable number of MSS., and it has Bentley's authority; but, as far as external evidence goes, it would seem from the critical note *in loc.* that the old *natalis sui* has very strong claims. But the problem as to the relative weight to be attached to internal probability and to external testimony respectively will, no doubt, receive full discussion in the editors' general account of their methods, which is promised in the *Prolegomena*.

We miss in this fasciculus the useful table of important notes and variants given in the Preface to the first number. It is, however, hardly fair to ask that, as the work progresses, and its principles become understood, such a table should be drawn up for each number; each reader can easily make a list of this kind for himself. I have only noticed one misprint, but that is one which ought to be corrected: in i. 31 *ministrabit* should be *ministrabat*.

J. H. BERNARD.

THE HISTORY OF SICILY FROM THE EARLIEST  
TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

NO one will hesitate to say that Sicily has at length found her historian ; one is tempted to add that her historian has found his subject. Mr. Freeman possesses, more than any other historian, those special qualifications which Sicilian history demands ; and Sicily offers, perhaps in larger measure than any other land, a field for Mr. Freeman to exert his full powers. The story of the Norman Conquest of England, which he has related once for all, gave him no such opportunity for spanning the ages, as the story of even the Norman Conquest of Sicily would have done, if he had decided to confine himself to that period. But, fortunately, he determined to begin at the beginning ; and thus we shall have (and already have in part) the earlier story of Greeks, and Phœnicians, and Romans illustrated by the later history of ‘ Romans,’ Saracens, and Normans, as well as the later story illustrated by the earlier. And as Mr. Freeman is not a master of ‘ ancient ’ history only, nor of ‘ modern ’ history only, but of history whole, he can write with as sure a hand of Gelon, or Hermokrates, or Timoleon, as of Maniakes, or Roger, or Frederick. Moreover, when the time comes to tell how Roger the Norman conquered Sicily, there will be that other comparison, not with past events in Sicily itself, but with contemporary events in Northern Europe ;

<sup>1</sup> By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., and ii. Oxford, at the Clarendon Hon. D.C.L., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History, &c. Vols. i. Press, 1891,

and none is so fitted to work out this comparison as the historian who has told how William the Norman conquered England.

In the two first volumes Mr. Freeman gets down only as far as 433 B.C. It is pleasant to think that a good many more—I believe that in some journal some *μισόλογος* ‘shuddered’ to think how many—will have to appear before we get to the death of the Emperor Frederick (1250 A.D.), where Mr. Freeman proposes to end his work, of which much of the later part is already written. In the first instalment the author is always teaching us to look forward across the centuries. When Terillos brings in the Phœnician, we are told to look forward to Euphemios bringing in the Saracen. When Dorieus comes to Drepana, to found a Heraclea beneath Eryx, we are reminded of the description of Trapani in Geoffrey of Malaterra. But Mr. Freeman’s way of spanning the ages is familiar.

The sources for the early chapters of Sicilian history are very fragmentary; and it is a difficult task to put together into a connected form the scattered and often contradictory statements of all kinds of writers, without dealing largely in inference. Mr. Freeman has performed the task with consummate skill. He puts every scrap of evidence in just that light in which it is most telling; and he takes care that we shall always know exactly where we are. Some, and especially German, writers have a habit of passing insensibly from fact into inference; but Mr. Freeman always warns us when we approach anything which has not been recorded. His account of Phalaris is an interesting example of his method of weighing evidence. I may observe that he believes in the existence of the brazen bull, on the strength of the well-known passage in Pindar.

Owing to his intimate acquaintance with the topography of Sicily, Mr. Freeman has been able to invest his

elaborate descriptions of the various Sikel, Elymian, Phœnician, and Greek sites with singular clearness and freshness. His picture of Henna, the Sikel omphalos of Sicily, is one of the most striking. Of the Sikels, we hear a great deal in these two first volumes—a great deal more probably than many of us expected, and more than we can look for in the volumes which are to follow. And to the question, who were the Sikels? it is pleasant to find that Mr. Freeman has a definite answer. He accepts the view that they belonged to the Italic branch of the Indo-Germanic family; they were ‘undeveloped Latins.’ Mr. Freeman is so cautious of committing himself in matters of this kind that his opinion will have the greatest weight. There is another point in connexion with the difficult problems about the early races in Sicily, on which he has also expressed a decided opinion. He holds that the Sikans were not connected with the Sikels, and that the likeness of name is as much an accident as the identity in name of the country east of Colchis with the country south of the Pyrenees. The fact that the ancients, who were generally most fanciful in their etymological notions, never yielded to the obvious temptation to connect the Σικανοί with the Σικελοί is strong evidence that there were firm and well-known traditions which rendered such a connexion untenable. There can be little doubt that the Sikans belonged to the same stock as the Iberians and Ligurians—the ‘prehistoric’ peoples who possessed Europe before the Teutaryans came. As for the Elymians, Mr. Freeman leaves their origin doubtful; but he lets us see that he is rather inclined to entertain the view according to which the Elymians would be an Indo-Germanic people of the West Asiatic family, brothers of the Dardanians and Phrygians. Since K. F. Kinch’s Essay on the language of the Elymians, this view may be said to hold the field. All we know of that language is derived from some

curious coins of the Elymian cities Segesta and Eryx. Kinch compares the legend ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ, which he explains Σεγισταζιη, with such forms as Phrygian Σαβάζιος; Lykian *Atunazi*.

Among the most interesting parts of the book may be mentioned the episode of the great Sikel king (for Diodoros once calls him βασιλεύς; in later imperial times he would have called him ῥήξ, as Roger of Hauteville is called by Greek writers), Ducetius, as Mr. Freeman spells his name, on the ground that he was an 'undeveloped Latin.' Mr. Freeman throws light on the designs and career of this patriot by a telling comparison with Philip of Macedon, who succeeded in plans which affected old Greece, just as the plans of Ducetius, had they prospered, would have affected Sikeliot Greece.

The reigns of the great hero of Himera, and that of his great brother, the deliverer of Kyme, demanded, and have received, Mr. Freeman's best efforts. He has even given thirty brilliant pages to poets who sang and feasted<sup>1</sup> at Hieron's court, Simonides, Pindar, Aeschylus, and Epicharmus. An account of literary men, and especially of poets, from an historian's point of view, is always of the highest interest. Of all that has been written about Byron, nothing, perhaps, is more noteworthy than the *Aufsatz* of Treitschke.

Mr. Freeman is always 'up to date' on matters outside his proper subject,<sup>2</sup> sometimes with a certain amount of irony. He will speak only with 'fear and trembling' of

<sup>1</sup> P. 262, *note*, Mr. Freeman quotes a story from Athenaeus (xiv. 73), in which Hieron helps all the guests to some hare before Simonides. The word for 'helping' is μεταδιδόντος. May we infer that Hieron did not dine *à la russe*, but had the dishes set on the table, and carved himself?

<sup>2</sup> The exception which 'proves a rule' is on p. 52, vol. i., where *Rhégion* and *ρήγνυμι* are connected with *frango*, *break*. Under the reign of Georg Curtius the digamma used to represent original *dh* sporadically; but of late years it has given up that bad habit.

the stage or scene of a Greek theatre. He is also ironical when he comes into contact with the Orientalists, whom he takes care to keep at a civil distance. In his Appendix on the story that the Sikels invaded Egypt, he makes some remarks, which may be quoted:—

‘It is quite certain that, if we met with a story like this in any mediæval writer, or any of the inferior Greek writers, we should at once cast it aside as simply impossible; we should not discuss it at all; it would go with Brute, the Trojan, and Francus, the son of Hektôr, and with Galateia, grandmother of the Gauls. No doubt, when it comes recommended by eminent Eastern scholars, it is entitled to a different treatment, only we cannot discuss it, because we have no common ground. There may be common ground some day, when Egyptian and Hittite studies are as old as Greek and Teutonic studies, and when the alleged facts have been as well sifted in the one case as in the other. . . . It is not for me to deny that the *Shakarusha* came from some unknown Σικελία in Europe, or that they came from Sagalassos, or from Saghaliën, in Eastern Asia. I only ask not to be called on to affirm anything at all about them till I see some evidence for what is said of them which would be enough, according to Western laws of criticism, to make it at least “highly probable.”’

The fact is, that the connexion of the Sikels with the *Shakarusha*, whoever they may be, is just as likely as a connexion with the Marchmen of Siebenbürgen, who, in diplomatic Latin, were regularly called *Siculi*. Whatever Magyar scholar first made Székeli (the man who dwelled in the land beyond the *Szék* ‘habitation,’ that is, in the mark) into *Siculus* committed a pun, and the *Shakarusha* story is no better. Elsewhere Mr. Freeman wonders that no Hungarian chronicler tried to bring the Széklers from Sicily. Perhaps some enthusiast at Bucharest, with a dangerous knowledge of English, will now quote Mr. Freeman’s authority for a new argument in support of the dream of a *patria Romana*, taking in the

whole of Trajan's Dacia. Clearly, if the Széklers are 'undeveloped Latins,' they should go to the capital of Romania to be developed. There is just as much evidence to show that the Sikels visited Pannonia and Transylvania as that they visited Egypt, that is, none whatever.

We look forward with impatience to the next volume, which will contain the story of the Athenian expedition, for which Mr. Freeman will have such a source as he will never have again. But there are many other exciting things to come—Dionysios, Timoleon, Agathokles, the wars of Rome and Carthage—before the island sinks down into the long period of provincial rest. It will then be possible to press centuries into less than a volume. A good examination question would be, What period is marked by the dates 241 B.C. and 1060 A.D.? In 827 A.D. Sicily again emerged into ecumenical importance; and the old struggle between Europe and Asia was repeated there in a new form. But there is an exciting halting-place between the Battle of the Aegusian Islands and the landing of the Saracens. Sicily, as well as Italy and Spain and Africa, played her part in the Wandering of the Peoples. The Vandals ruled at Panormus and at Syracuse; the Ostrogothic kingdom included Sicily. But more exciting than the successful enterprise of Belisarius will be the fruitless enterprise of George Maniakês and Harald Hardrada; and then we are in Mr. Freeman's own special century (if he has a special century, to whom all centuries are alike familiar), on the threshold of the Norman Conquest.

J. B. BURY.

NOTES, CHIEFLY CRITICAL, ON THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES AND THE EPISTLES  
PREFIXED TO THEM.

(Continued from HERMATHENA, 1891, p. 112.)

HOMILY VII. 7.

PETER, having mentioned the two ways presided over by faith and unbelief, says that those walk through unbelief who have preferred pleasures, δι' ἧς . . . οὐδὲ ζητεῖν τὸ συμφέρον οὐ διεφύλαξαν. The lacuna, noted by only four dots by Lagarde, is filled by more than a whole line invented by Dressel. The sentence can be translated without filling it. If the dots indicate the length of the void space, αὐτοῖς would suffice. The repeated negative is only to strengthen the negation.

HOMILY VIII. 11.

Peter says that the first men, as long as they continued in righteousness, enjoyed all kinds of prosperity. But from the uninterrupted continuance of this they became ungrateful, and forgot that there was any Providence, μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡ πάθει τινὶ ἢ νόσῳ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπεσόντος, ἵνα (ὡς ἀνθρώποις φίλον ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῆς κακῆς διαμαρτίας κακωθεῖσιν) ἑαυτοῖς τὸν ἰᾶσθαι δυνάμενον περιβλέψωνται θεόν. This, as printed by Lagarde, with a comma instead of a colon before ἵνα, needs none of the corrections Dressel thinks necessary. If Dressel is right in saying that O has δι' ἁμαρτίας Lagarde is right in retaining διαμαρτίας. It is not offences that are intended, but failure, as of health, or

crops, or such like. The dative *ἐαυτοῖς* is to be construed with *περιβλέψωνται*, not with *ἰᾶσθαι*. In consequence of this neglect of Providence, we are told *δικαία τις αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησεν τιμωρία, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ὥς βλάψαντα ἀπωθοῦσα, τὰ δὲ κακὰ ὥς ὠφελήσαντα ἀντισφέρουσα*. I have not seen the gratuitous violation of the rule of the past sense of aorist participles in *ὠφελήσαντα* noticed by anyone. In the first clause the injury preceded the removal of the advantages; in the second the benefit was clearly to follow the introduction of the ills. We should read *ὠφελήσονται*.

## HOMILY VIII. 14.

The angels who came down to men to bring them back to virtue were at first able to turn themselves into gold, silver, purple, and all kind of precious stones, and into all beautiful animals. After their corruption with women they lost this power, and then, to gratify the objects of their love, they showed them instead the marrow of the earth, *τὰ ἐκ μετάλλων ἄνθη*, gold, copper, silver, precious stones, and the like. The Latin ‘*decus metallorum*’ should be ‘*flores ex metallis*.’ The beautiful efflorescent forms of native metals are well known to mineralogists.

## HOMILY VIII. 15.

From the intercourse with women were born giants. Knowing that the food provided for human use would not suffice for them, in order that they might have no excuse for turning to carnivorous diet, *μάννα αὐτοῖς ὁ παντοδύναμος θεὸς ἐπώμβρισεν ἐκ ποικίλης ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ πάντος οὐπερ ἐβούλοντο ἀπήλανον*. This pointing is absurd. We cannot connect *ἐκ ποικίλης ἐπιθυμίας* either with God, or with the manna as qualifying it. The comma should precede these words, which should go with the sequel, the *καὶ* belonging not to what follows it, but to the whole clause thus formed.

HOMILY VIII. 17.

The progress of degeneracy was such that God resolved to destroy the wicked race, lest it might at last τὸν ἐσόμενον αἰῶνα σωζομένων ἀνδρῶν κενώσῃ. This may be compared with advantage with Acts ii. 47, προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

HOMILY IX. 2.

On the next day Peter again addressed the people from the same place as before. He describes the deluge, and the subsequent lapse into idolatry. In reference to this, he says that, in the first place, 'you have been unfortunate in not having recognized the difference between μοναρχία, as a source of concord, and πολυαρχία.' Some wise man recently displayed his learning, in *Notes and Queries*, by saying that *polyarchy* should really be polygarchy. This is what we may expect when Greek has ceased to be a part of liberal education. This remark respecting the difference between monarchy and polyarchy is followed in the next short chapter by saying, that as long as Noah survived, three hundred and fifty years, his descendants continued in concord under his dominion. After his death many coveted the supreme dominion, and resorted to various evil devices. One of these was his son Ham, who was the father of Mesrem, from whom the tribes of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians were multiplied.

HOMILY IX. 4.

From this race sprung one who had, by succession, received magical arts, and was named Nebrod (Nimrod), as it were a giant, but whom the Greeks called Zoroaster. Οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς καὶ μέγας ὦν

μάγος, τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὠροσκοποῦντα κόσμον ἀστέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας δόσιν μαγικαῖς ἠνάγκασε τέχναις. This passage is certainly corrupt. That no star was ever supposed to have been the horoscopic ruler of the world is certain. Schwegler proposed ὠρονομοῦντα, and Wieseler adds κατὰ before κόσμον. They do not seem to have been aware that the phrase τὸ ὠροσκοποῦν ζώδιον, and τὸ ὠροσκοποῦν by itself is used by Sextus Empiricus, as the technical term for the star, or constellation, of each particular horoscope. Sextus is a difficult writer to get access to, but he is quoted in the *Philosophumena*, Miller, p. 62 seqq. We find also τὸ ὠροσκόπιον ἀπλανές. Here the gender is changed to agree with ἀστέρα, and the meaning is plainly 'the horoscopic star of the now evil ruler'; or, 'the present ruler being evil, his own horoscopic star.' But what are we to do with κόσμον? I think an α has been lost, because the preceding word ends with that letter, and that we should read ἀκούσιον, which falls in with the word ἠνάγκασε, and with the anger of the star presently mentioned. By a further alteration we might read τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ δόντος, 'the evil being now ruling allowing it,' and then, 'taking a horoscope he compelled a star against its will.' But it is safer to avoid all unnecessary changes.

The manner of giving the royal dignity was by sending down fire, of which a survival existed in the fire carried before the Roman Emperors when they went abroad in public. Accordingly the story goes on: 'But it, viz. the star, as being now dominant, ἄρχων ὢν, and having the authority of him that forced it, with anger poured forth the fire of royalty in order that he might both pay due regard to the adjuration, and punish the person that had first used compulsion' (πρώτως, for the first time). It is added in the next chapter that Nebrod was slain by the lightning that had thus fallen from heaven, and that in consequence

his name was changed to Zoroaster, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ρόήν.

I subjoin the passage of the Recognitions corresponding to the above. It is by no means sufficiently similar to place much dependence on it, but it favours the emendation suggested above, that it was the Dæmon to whom the event was due:—Hic ergo astris multum ac frequenter intentus et volens apud homines videri Deus, velut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur; cupiensque augere de se hujusmodi opinionem, saepius ista moliebatur, usque quo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat, igni succensus concremaretur. The two forms of the story are very unlike. That of the Homilies is more circumstantial, and seems to me more original. That of the Recognitions seems like a hasty and rough abridgment of it, perhaps for the sake of appearing original.

HOMILY IX. 7.

Of the periodical festivals we are told οἱ ἀνόητοι ἀπατώμενοι, καίτοι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεθείσης, αὐτοὶ τῶν συνελθουσῶν θρησκειῶν οὐκ ἀπολείπονται. For συνελθουσῶν O. has παρελθουσῶν. This latter suggests what would be better than either, περιελθουσῶν, having come round periodically.

HOMILY IX. 12.

Men troubled by demons attribute their ills to some natural disorder, εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ἀλλάκται δαίμονος εἶδος εἶναι. An article before δαίμονος would be desirable, not prepositive to δαίμονος, but to the whole clause. 'It would not be freed from being a species of demon.' For the general and earthly life (or soul, ψυχῇ) penetrating by means of all food, being acquired to too

great a measure by too much nutriment, is itself united to the spirit which is the human soul as akin to it, but the material part having been united to the body ὡς δεινός αὐτῷ ὑπολείπεται ἰός. There seems no sufficient reason why Lagarde should have introduced into his text ὑπαλείφεται instead of the ὑπολείπεται of both MSS. The vital part is united to the soul, or life, but the material part is left as poison to the body like a sediment, as expressed by the ὑπό.

## HOMILY IX. 15.

The demons, sometimes to deceive people, transform themselves in a dream into the forms of idols, τὸ γὰρ ξόανον οὔτε ζῳόν ἐστιν οὔτε θεῖον ἔχει πνεῦμα, ὁ δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς δαίμων τῇ μορφῇ ἀπεχρήσατο. πόσοις κατ' ὄναρ ὁμοίως ἄλλοις ὥφθησαν καὶ ὑπαρ συναντήσαντες ἀλλήλοις πρὸς τὸ κατ' ὄναρ ἀντιβάλλοντες οὐ συνεφώνησαν; In this sentence the word ὑπαρ is rightly substituted by all for ὑπερ joined to the next word in the MSS. Cotelerius reads πόσοι, translating quot homines, and Wieseler would read ὅμοιοι for ὁμοίως, and ἀλλήλους for ἀλλήλοις. These changes are quite needless. All that is wanted is a mark of interrogation, after ὥφθησαν. 'To how many others, in like manner, have they appeared in a dream? And when awake, having met with one another and comparing the matter relating to the dream, they have not agreed with one another.' There seems no difficulty in this. The same idol appeared to different people in their dreams, but when they communicated with one another afterwards their accounts did not agree. The inference then follows: ὥστε οὐκέτι ὄναρ ἐπιφανείη ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ δαίμωνός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχῆς τὰ ἐπιγενήματα τοῖς παρίᾳ φόβοις καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἀποδιδούσης τὰς ιδέας. Here the word παρίᾳ is obviously a scriptural error for παρὰ. Wieseler would have οὐ κατ' ὄναρ for οὐκ ἔτι ὄναρ, and τινα for τὰ before ἐπιγενήματα. Dressel gives

ἐπιφάνεια for the ἐπιφανείη of the MSS. This latter is necessary if we retain the ἔστιν after ἐκεῖνο. But it is better to drop this as merely taken up from the ἔστιν that follows presently after. The other alterations are wrong, but there should be a comma after δαίμονός ἐστιν. The meaning is then clear—‘Wherefore that (the ξόανον) was not at all manifested in a dream,’ or, ‘that is no longer a manifestation in a dream, but it is of some demon, or the after productions of a soul giving back the forms to those that are in fears or in passion.’ Then follows, ‘for it (the soul) having been smitten in the understanding by fear, afterwards gives birth to the forms by dreams.’

He goes on to say: ‘But if you suppose that the idols ἔμπνοα ὑπάρχοντα are able to produce such effects, having set them on a balance, the tongue, κανόνος, being fair, and placed the counterpoise in the other scale, ask them to become heavier or lighter, and if it is so done, they are ἔμπνοα; but it is not so done. But if it should be, the like is not yet a god, for this may be the work of a demon.’ The word ἔμπνοα here means, ‘having breath.’ The experiment would show this, as by drawing the breath they would be heavier, and by breathing out lighter. The Latin has for the first ‘vivas et spirantes,’ and for the second ‘vivunt,’ which seems to show that the nature of the experiment was not understood. The chapter concludes with the statement: ‘and worms are moved and are not called gods.’ This must refer to some juggling trick, as it would be absurd to speak of the natural movement of worms.

#### HOMILY IX. 19.

In the sentence ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδοκῶτι εὐχαριστήσατε, μετὰ τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης βασιλείως εἰσαεῖ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βασιλεύοντες ἀγαθῶν. Here εὐχαριστήσατε cannot stand as an imperative. It

refers to their future state, and should be εὐχαριστήσετε. Or else we must read βασιλεύουσιν in the second clause.

## HOMILY IX. 21.

Οὕτως καὶ θεῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀποδούς (πιστὸς ὧν δαίμοσιν τε καὶ παθέσιν) μόνον λέγων ἀκούεται. Lagarde's half moons make nonsense of this. The demons and affections are to be construed with λέγων and not with πιστός. There should be a comma before δαίμοσιν, as Dressel has printed.

## HOMILY IX. 22.

Ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θεῷ προσκειμένους ὄρκους φεύγειν ὑποκρίνονται. This is clearly incorrect. Wieseler's proposal to put δι' before ὄρκους does not mend matters, as it only repeats what was said a few lines before. The remedy is to read προσοικειομένους. They sometimes pretend to flee from adjurations not proper to God, that is pagan and senseless exorcisms.

## HOMILY X. 6.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀλόγοις ζῷοις ἰοικότα πράξαντες ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἀπώλεσατε κ.τ.λ. This wants none of the corrections that have been proposed. In ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς the article has a pronominal sense 'from your soul.' The words are explained by what has been already noticed in Hom. ix. 12, where the distinction is made between ἡ καθόλου καὶ γεώδης ψυχὴ and the πνεῦμα ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆ.

## HOMILY X. 12.

The following, as given by the MSS., needs correction:—προφάσει γνώσεως ἐνεδρεύει δοὺς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μιᾷ τῇ κατὰ πάντων προλήψει χρώμενος κ.τ.λ. The δοὺς here is nonsense. On the strength of quasi occasione alterius scientiae in the Recognitions, v. 18, ἄλλης or ἑτέρας have been proposed. Lagarde does better giving ψευδοῦς. But

there is nothing in the text to suggest this in particular. Let us borrow *ει* from the last syllable of *ἐνεδρεύει*, supposing it lost through similarity, and read *εἶδους*, 'beguiles by a kind of knowledge.' In *Recog.* vi. 4 we have a more exact representation of this, quasi sub specie alicujus scientiae. As in this, we might translate the *εἶδους* by 'an appearance.' The *τὰ μὲν πρῶτα* has its 'secondly' in the *πάλιν* with which the next chapter begins.

HOMILY X. 16.

*Αὐτίκα γοῦν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑμῶν οἱ ἀρχηγέται, οἱ περὶ μετεωρολογίας ἀνχοῦντες.* The leaders of your Egyptians is an odd and unlikely way of speaking. There should be a comma before *ὑμῶν*. 'Those of the Egyptians who boast about meteorology, your guides.' He was addressing the people of Tripoli, who had no other relation to the Egyptians than that the Phœnician idolatry was derived, as the writer supposes, from Egypt.

HOMILY X. 19.

O. has *κρείττον ἐστὶν δυνάμει μὲν τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ ποιοῦντος*. Dressel substitutes *ποιουμένου*; Davies, *ποιητοῦ*, in a passive sense. He is followed by Lagarde, but *ποιητής* is used actively in the preceding line. The reading of P. is, *τοῦ λοιποῦ*. This should be retained; and as a general term it is immediately explained in particulars: 'in greatness the infinite than the finite, in form the most beautiful, in happiness the most blessed, in understanding the most perfect.' The phrase, *τοῦ λοιποῦ*, means, 'than everything else.' And so there follows: '*ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, He has the pre-eminence without comparison.*' And again, 'the special property of God is to be *τῶν ὄλων κρείττονα.*'

## HOMILY X. 21.

The idolaters alleged that they did not worship the idol itself, but a divine spirit that was in it. It remains for them to show how we should believe that, *καὶ αὐτοῖς ἑωρακέναι οὐ πιστεύομεν*. This is mistranslated *et ipsi apparuisse non credimus*. The *αὐτοῖς* is dative on *πιστεύομεν*, 'we do not believe them to have seen it.'

## HOMILY XI. 7.

The last sentence of this chapter is attended with difficulty. The reading of P. is as follows:—*τῷ δὲ ὄντως θεῷ πρὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐσώθησαν*. In O. there is a lacuna after *εὐχαῖς*, the extent of which Lagarde had not ascertained, and it would appear that it wanted the *καὶ Ἕλληνες* of P. Lagarde has introduced for it from a Syriac authority *καὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις*. But in any case the sentence is incomplete. Schwegler would read for the *πρός*, *προσιόντες εὐχαῖς*, and Lagarde has printed *προσφυγόντες*. Dressel leaving that as in the MSS., adds after it *ἐχόμενοι πολλοί* to fill the lacuna of O. But this leaves the preceding phrase subject to the mistranslation of Cotelierius 'per preces.' The words which Lagarde has introduced from the Syriac suggest a filling for the lacuna which makes all right, *πρὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς εὐποιούντες καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐσώθησαν*. 'But in addition to prayers to the true God doing rightly, even Greeks (Gentiles) have been saved.'

## HOMILY XI. 9.

The pagan is supposed to ask: Is God angry if, when He heals, another—namely, the idol or false God—gets the credit of the cure? Peter replies, that even if He is not angry, He does not wish to help the deception that when

He does good, the idol that did nothing should be accredited as able to do it. Peter then adds, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὼ φημι ὅτι, εἰ μὴ φυσικῶς ἠδίκητο πρὸς ἀναίσθητα ἐπτοημένος, ἴσως ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ὑπομεμενῇκει. As this stands God would be the subject of the whole sentence, with the absurdity of supposing Him to be physically wronged and in dread of senseless objects. We should introduce *ὁ* before *πρός*. It would easily have been lost by the similarity of the last letter of *ἠδίκητο*. ‘If the person that has stood in awe towards senseless objects were not physically injured, God would have even borne this.’ The physical injury is explained in the next chapter. All nature is indignant, the sun will not give its light, the sky withholds its showers, the earth does not yield its fruits, the air, kindled with wrath, is changed to a pestilential operation, πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτοῦσης καὶ φυσικῶς ἐπιξερχομένης.

## HOMILY XI. 10.

‘In Hades, he who rules there will give no rest to the soul, when even now while the preordained period of the world subsists all creation παραγανακτεῖ.’ I do not know if there is any other instance of this word. According to analogy it would mean, ‘is unduly angry,’ which is quite contrary to what the writer intended. I should suppose he wrote προαγανακτεῖ. This is explained by the prevalence of natural ills, such as pestilence and like evils. Thus the air πρὸς λοιμῶδη πρᾶξιν μεταβάλλεται. Here πρᾶξιν is good enough, though we might have expected κρᾶσιν. But Wieseler’s τάραξιν, because the doctors used the word for inflammation of the eyes, is very childish.

We have then as follows : ‘But whatever blessings we do enjoy τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐλέει εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν βιάζεται τὴν κτίσιν. The words τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν may be compared with an usage not uncommon with Thucydides,

such as τῷ φόβῳ ὑμετέρῳ, 'by fear of you.' But then philanthropy carries its own object, which fear does not. Hence, ἡμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν should mean philanthropy to us in particular as distinguished from mankind at large. But this latter is what the writer plainly intended. I am, therefore, inclined to think we should read εἰς τὴν ἡμερώτεραν φιλανθρωπίαν, 'to its milder philanthropy,' that which generally prevails.

## HOMILY XI. 26.

'But the soul μὴ θνήσκουσα ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ αὐτῆς τέλος λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχει.' It would be better to read τὸ for τῷ. 'In misery is not able to find its end, as not dying.'

The last sentence is: 'There is in us a certain ἄλογος ἐπιθυμία hostile to God. For by supposition of wisdom it confirms ignorance.' It is hard to see what ἐπιθυμία, not mentioned before, has to do with supposed wisdom or with confirming ignorance. It would seem that ἐνθυμία would be the proper word.

## HOMILY XI. 26.

'Being regenerated to God by water, αἰτία φόβου, you change your first genesis that proceeded from passion.' Perhaps we should read αἰτίαν φόβου, in apposition with τὴν—γένεσιν immediately following. Their first birth proceeding from passion, an occasion of fear, is altered by regeneration.

In the sequel we read, as printed by Lagarde, ἔστιν γάρ τι ἐκεῖ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐλεῆμον ἐπιφερόμενον τῷ ὕδατι, . . . τοὺς βαπτιζομένους ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ καὶ ῥύεται τῆς ἐσομένης κολάσεως. Plainly the vacancy should be filled with πνεῦμα, the comma following instead of preceding it. The reference to Gen. i. 2 makes this clear. This lacuna which exists in O., Lagarde says, is followed by καὶ.

That is the proper place for it instead of before *ῥύεται*. Schwegler thought *δ* should be supplied instead, which, as Lagarde says, would have also required a verb. What I have suggested seems enough.

## HOMILY XI. 32.

‘If those that are in error do not kill, we should not be angry; if he that is in error does not commit adultery, *ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδὲ ἐνθυμηθῶμεν.*’ Lagarde says, that *ἐπιθυμηθῶμεν* would be a ready correction, but, that it is not necessary, as we should understand *μοιχεύειν*. But it is plain that meditating to commit adultery is not what is intended. An unfulfilled design is far too near the crime, not to insist on the reference to our Lord’s words. ‘In a word we who hope to inherit the endless life ought *τῶν τὸν παρόντα μόνον εἰδόντων τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν γενομένων καλῶν κρείττον ποιεῖν.*’ There is some difficulty in this. Wieseler thinks the words *τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν γενομένων καλῶν*, not having a counterpart in the Recognitions, ought to be omitted, as a gloss that crept into the text. The difficulty may be removed without removing these words. They should be enclosed between two commas as a genitive absolute; ‘we ought to do better than those that only know the present life, when the things done by them are good.’ Then follows: ‘knowing that if their works, being examined in the day of judgment, should be found equal in well-doing to our works, both we have to be ashamed, and they, on account of their error, *τὰ καθ’ αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες* to perish.’ This is the reading of P. Lagarde makes *τὰ καθ’ αὐτῶν*. This would mean the actions ill-done by them to their own detriment. But the doctrine of the writer is, that if they were in every other respect most holy, yet, if they did not worship the one God, they should perish. The reading of O. is, *τὰ κατ’ αὐτόν*. This approximates to

what, I think, was the real text, τὰ κατὰ ταῦτόν. 'Though they had done in like manner as we, they would perish on account of their error notwithstanding.' This would accord with the doctrine elsewhere expressed.

## HOMILY XII. 5.

Peter having sent Nicetas and Aquila to Laodicea, Clement expressed his thankfulness that he had not sent himself also. Peter having slightly censured him for this, Clement excused himself by saying that he had not spoken without good reason. Peter was now to him in place of earthly kindred, from him he had learned saving truth, and he was the source to him of the greatest consolation. He then says, as printed by Lagarde, πρὸς τοῦτοις δεδιώς μου καὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡγωνίων μήπως ἀπολειφθεῖς σου, ἄνθρωπος ὢν νεώτερος, ὅπερ νῦν οὕτως ἐνστάσεως ἔχω, κἂν κατὰ τινὰ χόλον θεοῦ ἀποστήναι σου ἀδύνατον εἰ ἦττων ἐπιθυμίας ἔσομαι. This is a difficult passage. It has been remodelled in each Epitome. The principal variations of text are, that the second Epitome appears to have read ὅσπερ for ὅπερ, both εἰ μή for κἂν, and the second εἶναι for εἰ after ἀδύνατον, the first having greatly altered this part of the sentence. We may dismiss these readings as insufficient to justify alteration of the MSS. Both Epitomes and the Latin of Cotelierius have erred in making θεοῦ genitive on χόλον. It seems absurd to think of his apostatizing from Peter on account of any anger of God. We should make θεοῦ σου to be governed by ἀποστήναι—'to apostatize from your God.' He says, 'your God,' because he had already forsaken the pagan gods. To apostatize from the true God would be impossible, merely on account of any pique at being sent away by Peter. For the εἰ after ἀδύνατον read εἶη. The εἶναι of the Epitome may show this. Now as to the clause, ὅπερ

νυν οὕτως ἐνστάσειως ἔχω may be rendered, 'whatever firmness I have in my present state,' or, as I prefer, we may make ὑπὲρ relative to his being a young man, 'which kind of obstacle I have already as it is.' Then translate the whole, 'In addition to these things, fearing also the natural passion arising from my youthful vigour, I was in terror, lest by chance, having been separated from you, being a rather youthful man, which difficulty I have already as it is, even though it were impossible by any pique to revolt from your God, I shall be overcome by passion.'

HOMILY XII. 14.

The poor woman that begged of Peter had said that if she were assured that souls live in Hades, she would gladly put an end to her life if she might only see her beloved ones for a single hour. Peter asks her to explain her trouble, and promises if she does he will convince her that souls live in Hades, and instead of a precipice or the deep φάρμακον δώσω ὅπως ἀβασανίστως τοῦ ζῆν τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι δυνηθῆς. In the next sentence we are told this was ἀμφιβόλως ῥηθέν. There has been much discussion on the expression, τοῦ ζῆν τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. But it was quite needless. Of course βίον must be accusative after μεταλλάξαι, which would not take a genitive. In the Epistle of Clement prefixed to the Homilies we have the construction inverted, τοῦ νῦν βίου βιαίως τὸ ζῆν μετήλλαξεν, § 1. It has not been observed that there is a double ambiguity intended, not only in the word φάρμακον, denoting either a poison or a remedy, but also in the words τοῦ νῦν ζῆν τὸν βίον. These may be either construed together, or they may be separated, and τοῦ ζῆν construed with ἀβασανίστως. It would be either, 'you may change the present manner of your life by dying without torment,' or else, 'you may be able to change the manner of living

without tormenting your existence.' In the latter case her death would not have been necessary. The ambiguity was designed in order to induce her to tell her troubles.

## HOMILY XII. 18.

The poor woman having told her story, says, τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτάρκως εἰρήσθω· λοιπὸν σὺ κωλύεις, κ.τ.λ. Here both Epitomes have σὺ μὴ κωλυσῇς. It is probable that they made an alteration from a fancied difficulty. Wieseler would have σὺ τί ὀκνεῖς to correspond with the quid moraris of the Recognitions. Schwegler would have τί σε κωλύει; there is no change requisite. She is impatient, she has told enough, σύ, you emphatic, are now hindering the fulfilment of your promise by expecting more. She concludes by saying, καὶ οὕτως καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ζῆν (ὡς ἔφη) μεταλλάξαι δυνηθῶ. Here the grammatical error is avoided in the first Epitome by τῆς ζωῆς—ἀπαλλαγῶ. The remedy in the Homily itself is simple. The reading should be τὸ ζῆν.

## HOMILY XII. 21.

Here we have a very natural description which Wieseler would alter by a very conceited change. The poor woman had fainted at what Peter told her. Peter had urged her to rouse herself, and then we are told, ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος παρεθείσα ὑπέστρεψεν ἑαυτὴν ὑποστῆναι δυνηθῆναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιζομένης χαρᾶς. This is the reading of P. It is δυνηθεῖσα in O. Either makes sense. For λοιπόν, which he considers a grave error, he suggests λεπτόν, because Eustathius uses the word λεπτόσωμος in his Scholia on Homer's Iliad. This is quite ridiculous. The word λοιπόν denotes the remainder of her body, as distinguished from her arms, by which she was able to turn herself a little. The expression is quite natural.

HOMILY XII. 22.

The poor woman being found to be Clement's mother, Peter takes her by the hand and leads her to the boat. Clement seeing him holding the poor beggar woman by the hand laughed, and out of respect to Peter, tried to take her hand and lead her, instead of allowing Peter to do so. As soon as he touches her, she cries out and embraces him, kissing him as her son. But Clement says, 'I not knowing anything of the whole matter was shaking her off, αἰδούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐπικραινόμεν.' This is translated in the Latin, reveritus Petrum me coercui. It should be, 'ashamed of Peter I was annoyed.' The Epitomes have πικρίας ἐπληροῦμην, which is too strong.

HOMILY XII. 25.

Peter expounds the difference between *φιλία* and *φιλοανθρωπία*. In the course of his remarks he says: 'εἰ δὲ διὰ τι φίλη ἢ ἐχθρὰ καὶ διὰ τι ἐχθρὰ ἢ φίλη, such a woman is the friend, or enemy, of the particular cause not of the person.' This is given thus correctly by Lagarde. The previous editions and the Latin read *ἢ* for *ἢ* in both clauses, which makes the one only an inverted repetition of the other. The first Epitome alters the sentence so as that this mistake is avoided. The second has the two clauses with the disjunctive instead of the article.

HOMILY XII. 29.

Peter, speaking of the difficulty of men's adequately judging the conduct of others, had said that 'of some men sinning or doing rightly, some of the things which they do now are their own, and some belong to others, *ἃ μὲν ἴδια αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ἃ δὲ ἀλλότρια*. Clement asked to have this explained, and Peter's reply is very difficult. He begins by observing that the prophet of truth had said: *τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ*

ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν. But, he says, if evil things come by evil men, and good things are brought by good men, προσεῖναι δεῖ ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἢ κακόν, καὶ ἐξ ὧν προέπραξεν, διὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὰ δεύτερα ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακά, ἅτινα ἴδια αὐτοῦ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὄντα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας διελθεῖν ψκονόμῃται. Now let us remember that this sentence was plainly intended to explain the difference between the actions that are ἴδια and those that are ἀλλότρια. But if we take it as it stands, and all as one sentence, it only describes the actions that are ἴδια, and takes no notice of the ἀλλότρια, about which alone there was any difficulty. We should, therefore, make two sentences by putting a full stop, or colon, before καὶ ἐξ ὧν. But then, this as a separate sentence has no verb except in the relative clause. This, however, may be obtained by reading instead of διὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, 'by the coming,' δεῖ τὸ ἐλθεῖν, 'it must needs be that the secondary good or evil things come.' As soon as the δεῖ became διά, the τὸ as a natural consequence would become τοῦ. Reading δεῖ τὸ ἐλθεῖν, the article would have reference to the words of our Lord just before, τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ κ.τ.λ. So far the sense is made good, 'out of the things he has previously done, there must needs be the coming to pass of the second good or evil things.' But now as to the relative clause it is not satisfactory. It makes these secondary actions still the man's own from choice, though economized by the providence of God, which scarcely suffices to make them ἀλλότρια. From Dressel's note it appears that Neander, *Gnost. Syst.*, introduced μὴ after αἰρέσεως. I should be glad to see the negative, but in such a form and position as might account for its loss. This would be the case if the original text had been ἴδια αὐτοῦ οὐ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὄντα, where the similarity of οὐ with the last syllable of αὐτοῦ might naturally have caused its loss. These secondary consequences did not belong to the design of the human good or wrong doer, but were ordered

to come out of their previous action by the dispensation of God's providence, and so were ἀλλότρια. The alternative of this would be to make αὐτοῦ refer, not to the human agent, but to God, following after in the sentence: 'which being the proper actions of His purpose, were ordered to result by the providence of God.' If this manner of construction is not allowed, I think we must have the negative. That the passage was designed to explain the ἀλλότρια as rendering human judgment necessarily insufficient, is plain from the conclusion which follows: ἐπεὶ οὖν κρίσις αὐτῇ θεῷ, ὥσπερ ἀγῶνος, τὸν διὰ πάσης κακουχίας διεληλυθότα καὶ ἄμεμπτον εὐρεθέντα, ἐκέϊνον ζωῆς αἰωνίου καταξιῶσθαι —. This, thus printed by Lagarde, wants an apodosis, and must be taken as an aposiopesis of the writer for which there was no occasion conceivable, or else we must suppose the apodosis has been irretrievably lost, the second Epitome, which has this passage, agreeing with the above, and giving us no help, while the first omits it. Either supposition may be avoided by resorting to the MSS. Instead of beginning with ἐπεὶ they have ἐπὶ. As this is manifestly wrong, let us read for it ἐστίν. Then we shall have a complete sentence, 'This judgment then belongs to God, that he who had been tried by all manner of ill-treatment and found blameless, might be deemed worthy of everlasting life.' He then goes on to explain this. Those that by their own will have advanced in good deeds, are tried by those who of their own will have continued in malice. Their afflictions are enumerated at length, as ill-usage by which anger and an impulse to revenge might seem to be reasonably produced.

HOMILY XII. 30.

'But the teacher, knowing that they who unjustly do these things are under condemnation from former sins, and that by means of men under condemnation the spirit

of malice carries them into effect, τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους καθὰ ἄνθρωποι εἰσιν, καὶ δι' ἁμαρτίας ὄργανα γενομένους κακίας ἐλεεῖν συνεβούλευσεν, ὥς φιланθρωπίαν ἀσκοῦσιν, κ.τ.λ.' Here ἀσκοῦσιν must be dative after συνεβούλευσεν, the comma being removed; and I cannot but think that ὥς should be τοῖς, 'those that practise philanthropy,' by which philanthropists in general are meant, for he adds, 'and that those who are wronged, as far as in them lies, should also deliver from their condemnation those who do them wrong.'

Presently we are told, that if the righteous avenge their persecutions παρὰ τὸ πρῶτοι δεύτεροι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ πράσσομεν. Cotelierius translates this, præter quam quod primi non sumus, secundi idem, etc. From this it was supposed that he found τὸ μὴ πρῶτοι, which Davies thought was not required. The second Epitomist gives πρῶτοι ἢ δεύτεροι, which would mean, 'in comparison with being first or second.' This is very poor, but Wieseler seems to like it, and says that παρὰ τὸ πρῶτοι, δεύτεροι, ferri nequit. I am not sure that with εἶναι, understood after πρῶτοι, it would be so very intolerable. But there is no need of all this fuss. None of them seem to have perceived that πρῶτοι δεύτεροι is a proverbial form like the πρῶτοι ἰσχατοὶ, καὶ ἰσχατοὶ πρῶτοι of the Gospels. In our fashion the words should be printed παρὰ τὸ 'πρῶτοι δεύτεροι,' along of the saying, πρῶτοι δεύτεροι. I fancy this needs only to be mentioned to be acknowledged.

#### HOMILY XII. 32.

After enumerating various acts of Christian charity Peter says, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀγάπη ἢ πρὸς πάντα ἄνθρωπον τελεία τὸ ἄρρεν μέρος ἐστὶν οὓσα τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. In this the words καὶ ταῦτα, used to introduce some aggravating circumstance, seem quite out of place, and would be very awkward as an apposition with ἀγάπη. I think we should read κατὰ ταῦτα, 'in accordance with these things.'

## HOMILY XIII. 4.

Peter, explaining why they do not eat with the unbaptized, says, *θρησκεία γὰρ διαφερόντως τοῦτο ποιούμεν.* Schwegler would read *διαφέροντες*; but the rule of retaining the more difficult reading would hold good here. But we should not translate the adverb *præcipue* as in the Latin, but construing *θρησκεία* with it, ‘in a manner that concerns religious observances.’ If any change was to be made we should read *θρησκεία διάφερον τοιοῦτο ποιούμεν.* We may compare *περὶ τῶν θρησκεία διαφερόντων* in xiii. 8. At the close we have *μέχρις ἂν μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονῇς.* This is the reading of O. In P. the *μὴ*, which Weiseler says is inept, is omitted. It is not inept; in the one case *μέχρις* would be ‘as long as,’ in the other, ‘until.’

## HOMILY XIII. 8.

Ἔστιν δέ τις περὶ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς λόγος, οὗ φανέντος ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῶν θεοσεβησάντων ὁ . . . ὢν ἀθανάτως καὶ ἀλύπως βιωσαι ἔχει. Thus Lagarde has printed. O. has *δχλων*, and P. *δχλον*, for which Cotelerius substituted *δχλος*. The objection to this is, of course, the disparaging sense of *δχλος*, a mob. Perhaps we might read *ὁ θέλων*.

## HOMILY XIV. 4.

Peter says to the old man who believed in astrology, ‘But even if Nativity really exists, do not be anxious to persuade me not to worship Him who is Lord even of the stars, οὗ θέλοντος καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι τι, γενέσθαι δύνατον. Thus Lagarde after P. It seems to me to be nonsense, even if we make *ἐμέ* the antecedent of *οὗ*. O. has *ἀδύνατον*, which makes sense and agrees with the reason subjoined, ‘for the subject must needs obey the ruler.’

He goes on to say, it is superfluous indeed if Nativity

prevails to worship the supposed deities, 'for neither does anything happen, nor can they do anything contrary to what pleases destiny, τῇ καθόλου αὐτῶν ὑποκείμενοι γενέσει.' Then follows in Lagarde's text: εἰ γένεσις ἔστιν, ἀντίκειται τὸ μὴ πρῶτον ἄρχειν. ὑποκεῖσθαι οὐ δύναται ὡς ἀγέννητον ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον μηδὲν ἔχον. This is the reading in both MSS. An extract in *Cod. Reg.*, 804, puts ἡ before ὑποκεῖσθαι, which seems to have no business, but introduces τὸ ἀγέννητον after δύναται, which seems necessary. In the hypothetic proposition preceding, one does not see the logical connexion between the antecedent and the consequent. I propose, therefore, to connect εἰ γένεσις ἔστιν with the preceding words, τῇ καθόλου αὐτῶν γενέσει, εἰ γένεσις ἔστιν. I then remove the stop after ἄρχειν and put τῷ before the succeeding proposition. 'That the not-first should rule is opposed to, "the uncreated cannot be subject, as uncreated having nothing elder than itself."' That the not-first, that is stars, should rule, is contrary to the admitted principle that the uncreated cannot be subject to any. The article τῷ would be prepositive to the whole sentence. We might avoid this by reading δύνασθαι for δύναται, but one would avoid unnecessary alteration. The two ways of writing would be:

ἀντίκειται τὸ μὴ πρῶτον ἄρχειν τῷ ὑποκεῖσθαι οὐ δύναται κ.τ.λ.  
 ἀντίκειται τὸ μὴ πρῶτον ἄρχειν τῷ ὑποκεῖσθαι οὐ δύνασθαι κ.τ.λ.

#### HOMILY XIV. 9.

Clement's mother, gathering from Peter's account of what the old man had told her, that her husband was dead, cried out, as in the MSS., οἱμοι, ἄνερ, ἡμᾶς ἀγαπῶν κρίσει αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτελεύτησας, ἡμεῖς δὲ ζῶντες φῶς ὁρῶμεν, except that αὐτὸς μὲν is absent from P. Lagarde has for κρίσει introduced into his text ἀκριλί, which gives the opposite meaning to that which seems to have been intended.

The Latin of Cotelierius renders, *mori voluisti*. There is no reason for introducing the notion of suicide. It simply means, you died wisely, with discernment. The whole sentence should be rendered, 'Alas, husband, loving us you yourself indeed wisely died, but we living behold the light.' Lagarde's alteration is quite arbitrary and is no improvement.

HOMILY XIV. 10.

The old man being recognized as Faustus, is asked by Peter why he told his story as that of another person whom he feigned to have died. He replies, that he had done so because, being akin to the Emperor, if he should be recognized, people in local authority, wishing to gratify the Emperor, would have endeavoured to restore him to his former condition which he had renounced. He adds: οὐ γὰρ ἡδυνάμην, περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡγαπημένων τὰ μέγιστα ὥς περὶ θανόντων κρίνας, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου τρυφήν ἐμαυτὸν ἀποδιδόναι. In the Latin of Cotelierius we have the following translation: *qui enim me ob mortem carorum creditam ad maxima damnaveram, non poteram vitæ deliciis indulgere*. One would suppose that there was but one possible meaning of the passage, 'For having judged concerning those that had been beloved by me in the highest degree as concerning those that had died, I could not give myself back to the indulgence of life.'

HOMILY XIV. 11.

Faustus, who was a believer in astrology, admitting that prognostications sometimes failed, says it was because the astrologers were imperfectly acquainted with their art. Peter says, ἄπεχε μήπως περὶ ὧν ἀληθεύουσιν ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν καὶ οὐχὶ ἀκριβοῦντες λέγουσιν. Lagarde should have put a comma after ἄπεχε as in former editions, 'Hold off! lest it may be that when they speak

truly they succeed by chance and not from accurate knowledge.' The Epitomes have *ἔπεχε*. This should not be accepted, as it is the more easy reading and the weaker also.

## HOMILY XV. 3.

Faustus acknowledges that much of what Peter says is reasonable, and Peter asks, as from P., *τί οὖν τὸ κρατοῦν σε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ἔλθεῖν, λέγε*. Dressel and Lagarde supply from O. the needful *μὴ* before *εἰς*. Lagarde says he did not remark its absence from P., which he had gone over.

## HOMILY XV. 4.

Peter says the events were by divine dispensation; *ᾠκονομήθη σὺν μητρὶ ἢ ἀποδημία καὶ ναυάγιον καὶ θανάτου ὑπονομία καὶ ἀπρασίαι*. For *ναυάγιον* Cotelerius has *ναυφραγίῳ* with a conjecture of *ναυφράγιον*. Lagarde has *ναυφραγίῳ* as a dative, with *ὑπονομία* and the word he substitutes for *ἀπρασίαι*. I do not see the use of these datives. Properly *ναυάγιον* is a piece of a wreck, but this writer uses the word for shipwreck. Both MSS. have the unintelligible *ἀπρασίαι*. Wieseler suggests the very weak *ἀπαρτία* which Lagarde adopts in his text, only making it *ἀπαρτίᾳ*. It is to be observed that the particulars mentioned above are followed by the lads' education in Grecian dogmas. Something then between the shipwreck and their education is wanted. The word *ἀπρασίαι* came, no doubt, from some notion of their having been sold by the Pirates to Justa. We might read *αἱ πράσεις*, the plural referring to the sale of both lads, or if that is thought harsh, *ἡ πρᾶσις*, though the other is more like the MS. reading. Nothing could be poorer than *ἀπαρτία* in this connexion and position. Schwegler's note is, '*πρᾶσις* vel *πεπρᾶσθαι* conj. Cotel. *ἀφασίαι* (stupores) conj. Dav.' The stupor was Davies's own.

## HOMILY XV. 10.

Faustus says, 'What, do we not see many ungodly men poor, and are they along of that of the number of the saved?' Peter replies, 'Not at all, for poverty is not acceptable if it covets what it ought not.' He then adds: ὥστε τινὲς τῇ προαιρέσει πλουτοῦσιν χρήμασιν, καὶ ὡς πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τιμωροῦνται· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πένητι εἶναι τινα πάντως δίκαιός ἐστιν. For he may be poor in money, but covet or do what he specially ought not.' This is the reading of P. Dressel, from O., introduces πενόμενοι between πλουτοῦσιν and χρήμασιν, and Lagarde follows him in this. It spoils the sense, as it makes the two members to have the same meaning, whereas there is plainly an opposition intended. Besides the word πλεονεκτεῖν, to have more, shows that in the first member it was not the poor he was speaking of, but rich men προαιρέσει, and therefore coveting more.

## HOMILY XVI. 6.

Simon, on the first day of the discussion at Laodicea, adduces passages from the Old Testament that implied a plurality of gods, and quotes as follows: ἄλλοτε, 'θεοὶ οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν [οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἀπολέσθωσαν,] ὡς τῶν] μὴ πεποιηκότων ἀπόλλυσθαι μελλόντων. The MSS. are defective in this place, and Cotelerius rightly supplied the defect by introducing the words between the brackets. But there is another error that I have not seen noticed. The clause beginning ὡς τῶν does not suit Simon's object. It was to show that there were more than one engaged in the making of the world. The μὴ is misplaced, we should read ὡς τῶν πεποιηκότων μὴ ἀπόλλυσθαι μελλόντων. This will be manifest from Peter's words in reply, ch. 8: καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν οὐχ ὡς ἐνίων πεποιηκότων καὶ μὴ ἀπολλυμένων, ὡς ἡρμήνευσας. As the μὴ is placed in Simon's words, it could not fail to be construed with πεποιηκότων.

## HOMILY XVI. 10.

Peter had said that we judge of God from having been made in His likeness. Presently he says, 'But if there is another, first let him put on (us), *ἐνδυσάτω*, a new form, a new shape, that by the new shape of the body I may recognize the new God.' The word *ἐνδυσάτω*, it will be observed, is active, and the pronoun 'us' or 'me' must be understood as implied in the active form. It will be seen that Peter ascribes to God a form similar to our bodily shape. The Latin translation *induat* is insufficient. *Induo* by itself would mean to put upon one's self.

## HOMILY XVI. 13.

In this passage Peter adduces Deut. xiii., 'If there arise in the midst of thee a dreamer of dreams, &c.,' in a remarkable manner. He stops at the words, 'Thou shalt not hearken to that prophet,' without the following sentence: 'the Lord your God proveth you, &c.' He then takes up ver. 9, *seq.*, 'Thine hands shall be first to stone him . . . because he hath sought, *ἐπείρασε*, to draw thee away from the Lord thy God.' He then subjoins a verse that is not in the Bible, but which, from its Hebraistic character, might belong to some Targum or other Jewish document: 'But if thou shalt say in thine heart, how hath he wrought that sign or wonder, thou shalt surely know, *γινώσκων γνώση*, that the Tempter hath tempted, *ὅτι ὁ πειράζων ἐπείραζεν*, to know if thou fearest the Lord thy God.' Having thus omitted the proving by God and introduced that by the Tempter, he goes on to say that the phrase, *ὅτι ὁ πειράζων ἐπείραζεν* had been expressed, but that it appears in a different form after the removal to Babylon. And to account for his insisting on the originality of this expression, he says that God, who knoweth all things, did not try in order that He might know for

Himself. His object was plainly to refute Simon's imputation of ignorance to the God of the O. T. Peter could hardly have been supposed by the writer to push back the version of the LXX to the time of the Captivity, and he seems to point to the traditional recension of the Scriptures by Ezra. I fail to see the significance of the note quoted in reference to this from Cotelierius by Dressel—Nunc enim fuerunt pseudoprophetæ in populo Judaico.

HOMILY XVI. 15.

Peter says that our Lord had not alleged that there were other gods beside the Creator, nor had He proclaimed Himself to be God, but only Son of God. Simon says, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι οὖν τὸν ἀπὸ θεοῦ θεὸν εἶναι; this is not to be confounded with the θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ of later controversies. It means that He who is from God is God. Peter will not affirm this, as he had not heard it from Him.

HOMILY XVI. 16.

Peter says, 'It belongs to the Father not to have been begotten, but to a Son to have been begotten. The begotten is not compared with the unbegotten or even self-begotten.' Simon asks, 'Is it not the same even by generation?' Peter replies, 'he that is not in all respects the same with any one cannot have all the same appellations with him.' Simon says, 'this is to assert and not to prove.' Peter rejoins in words which now have their proper form in Lagarde's text: διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖς ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀγέννητον τυγχάνει ἢ καὶ αὐτογέννητον, τὸ δὲ γέννητον ὃν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγεσθαι οὐ δύναται, οὐδ' ἂν τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ὁ γεγεννημένος τῷ γεγεννηκότι . . . This can, of course, be translated with the punctuation as here given, only it makes the clause, τὸ δὲ κ.τ.λ., a new proposition, which spoils the opposition between τὸ μὲν and τὸ δὲ. I should

be inclined to put a colon after ὅν, and to construe this with τυγχάνει, happens to be, a very common form. 'The one happens to be unbegotten, or even self-begotten, the other begotten.' Then we would begin a new sentence, 'They cannot be the same, not even if the begotten were of the same substance with him who begat him.' It is plain from the sequel that it was not intended to deny this. The lacuna, marked by dots, would be filled either by αὐτόν or by εἶη. O. has ὅν, τὰ αὐτά, which falls in with my punctuation.

J. QUARRY.

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NOTE ON TERENCE, *ANDRIA*, 3. 5. 7.

Nam quid ego nunc dicam patri ? negábon velle mé, modo  
Qui sum pollicitus ducere ? qua facere id audeam.

Umpfenbach reads with Lachmann: *qua audacia id facere audeam ?* A much simpler correction is to read :

Qui súm pollicitus dúcere ? qua FÁCIE facere id aúdeam ?

A. P.

THE COMMENTARY OF HIPPOLYTUS ON  
DANIEL.

UNTIL lately this work of Hippolytus was only known by unconnected fragments, variously preserved. In 1877 Bardenhewer published a valuable monograph, in which he criticized the different fragments purporting to have been derived from this work, arranged in order those whose genuineness he admitted, and edited them with a commentary. New light has been thrown on the subject by one of the most recent of the many 'finds' of our generation. Georgiades found in the library of a monastery used as a theological college in the island Chalki<sup>1</sup> a manuscript which contained entire the fourth book of the commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel. This led Georgiades to make searches for remains of Hippolytus in various European libraries, and he promises to give the results of his labour in an annotated edition of the manuscript which he discovered. Meanwhile he gave the text to the world in a series of articles contributed to a Greek periodical published at Constantinople, *ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀλήθεια*, the first of these articles appearing in May, 1885. The numbers of this periodical for 1885 fell into the hands of Mr. J. H. Kennedy, who, in 1888, published in Dublin, as a separate tract, all the articles of Georgiades which they contained, and which Mr. Kennedy supposed to give the entire of the new discovery. Through a notice of Mr. Kennedy's

<sup>1</sup> One of a little group of islands of Marmora, not far from Constantinople, called the Prince's Islands, in the sea.

tract in Bishop Lightfoot's *Clement* the attention of German scholars was drawn to this new find, and on their obtaining the numbers of ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀλήθεια it appeared that Georgiades had given more text than Mr. Kennedy published. Consequently Dr. Bratke, Professor of Church History at Bonn, found an opening for publishing a complete edition of the fourth book of Hippolytus on Daniel, in a tract which appeared in the early part of this year (1891). Later (December, 1891) he published, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, an article dealing with doubts which had presented themselves as to the soundness of the text of the commentary on Daniel, on account of chronological discrepancies between its statements and those contained in works by Hippolytus of undoubted genuineness. A comparatively small discrepancy is that, in the commentary on Daniel, our Lord is said to have come in the year of the world 5500, whereas in the Chronicle the date is 5502. But a very serious one is that in the work on Daniel the duration of our Lord's earthly life is reckoned at 33 years, in the Chronicle 30. I cannot adopt Dr. Bratke's solution of this difficulty, for his speculations are, in my opinion, vitiated by his having adopted what I regard as an erroneous date for the commentary on Daniel. In fact, I am disposed to believe that historians generally assign to the commencement of the literary career of Hippolytus an earlier date than is warranted by the evidence; and, at least with regard to the particular work now under consideration, I hope, in this paper, to prove that it is more than thirty years later than the commonly accepted date.


In Bardenhewer's tract he had remarked that the commentary on Daniel was, to all appearance, written in a time of persecution; and believing that the persecution was that of Severus he assigned to the commentary the date 202. Against so early a date I used (in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*) an argument which still seems to

me to be a good one. The persecution of Severus was a time of great tension for the Christians, and Eusebius tells us (*H. E.* vi. 7) that the violence of the persecution had so disturbed men's minds, that the belief became general among Christians, that the personal appearance of Antichrist was close at hand; and he states that this theory was presented in a treatise on the seventy weeks of Daniel, published by an ecclesiastical writer named Judas, in the year 203. Now Hippolytus, in the commentary on Daniel, maintains the theory that our Lord's second coming was to take place at the termination of 6000 years of the world's history, and so (since he dated the first coming at A.M. 5500), that the fulfilment of the prophecy was not to take place till 500 years after our Lord's birth. It seemed to me that we must suppose the Christians to have enjoyed several years of peace and prosperity after the persecution of Severus, before the belief could commend itself to them, that the terror then excited had been but a false alarm, and that they must wait some 300 years more before their Lord should appear. My argument, however, failed to convince Bishop Lightfoot, who was of opinion (*Clement*, ii. 393) that the contents of the new portion discovered by Georgiades were all in favour of the early date.

I consider that I can now distinctly prove the late date of the commentary on Daniel by showing that it contains corrections of chronological mistakes made by Hippolytus when he framed his Easter cycle, published not earlier than A.D. 224. I hold that at that time he was unacquainted with the chronological system of Africanus, and I think it likely that he had become acquainted with it when he wrote the commentary on Daniel. But whether he derived his corrections from Africanus or not, the work containing corrections is clearly the later one. In fact, I cannot but express my astonishment at one sentence of Lightfoot's, the view expressed in which has been

followed by Bratke. Taking notice of the fact that the Easter cycle puts the Passion in the thirtieth year of our Lord's life, and the work on Daniel puts it in the thirty-third, he says (p. 392): 'As the commentary on Daniel was apparently written much earlier than the other works, he perhaps saw some way meanwhile of fitting in the three Passovers of St. John into his later chronology. At all events, he cannot have been unaware of the difficulty.' In reply to this 'perhaps,' I must ask what possible mode of reconciliation there could have been. Surely, if we were told that a man at one period of his life had reckoned the duration of our Lord's earthly life at thirty years, and at another period at thirty-three, it would be common sense to hold the former view to be the earlier. St. Luke expressly tells that our Lord commenced his public ministry when about thirty years of age, and there is nothing in the Synoptic Gospels that would oblige us to believe that that ministry lasted more than one year. The duration 'thirty years' is, therefore, that which would naturally occur to a hasty reader, and there is reason to think is that which Hippolytus would have derived from his predecessors. But a careful student of the Fourth Gospel discovers that our Lord is there represented as taking part in three Passovers, and therefore that His ministry must have lasted more than two years. It is quite intelligible that Hippolytus might originally have estimated the duration as thirty years, and that afterwards, when it was pointed out to him what inferences were to be drawn from St. John's Gospel which he highly valued, he might willingly have accepted the correction of thirty into thirty-three, but it is absolutely inconceivable that he could have first given the correct figure, thirty-three, and afterwards, for some unknown reason, altered it to thirty.

That Hippolytus should not, in 224, have known the work of Africanus is credible in itself, because the chrono-



logy of Africanus goes down to the year 221. I had, however, endeavoured formally to prove that he did not, in an article contributed to this periodical which was published in 1873; but as that article is likely to be inaccessible to many of my present readers, I take the liberty of repeating here the leading steps of my argument.

(1). Hippolytus was perhaps best known among his contemporaries as the inventor of a cycle to be used in determining the time of Easter. This is the only one of his works described at length by Eusebius, and the cycle is still to be seen engraved on one of the earliest remains of Christian art, a statue of the saint preserved in the library of St. John Lateran, at Rome. The Christian feast, like the Jewish Passover whence it was derived, was celebrated at the time of a full moon, and as the first generations of Christians had not astronomical knowledge enough to be able to calculate beforehand the times of occurrence of full moon, they were under a dependence, which they felt to be humiliating, on the practice of their Jewish neighbours. It was natural that gratitude should be felt to Hippolytus, who freed them from this dependence, by presenting them with a Table which professed to give the true dates of the Paschal full moon for all time. He had become acquainted with a cycle of eight years used by some early Greek astronomers,<sup>2</sup> and accepted it

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary Greek calendar contained months of 30 and 29 days alternately; that is to say, it went on the supposition that the true length of a lunar month is  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days. Twelve such months make 354 days, which come short of the solar year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days by  $11\frac{1}{4}$  days. In 8 years the difference amounts to 90 days, and the idea was that, if in the course of the 8 years we intercalate 3 months of

30 days each, we should begin the next 8 years with the 1st day of a month, when the other months for these years would begin on the same days of the solar years as before, and that thus we should have a calendar good for all time. But, unfortunately, not to mention other flaws in the scheme, the lunar month is really longer than  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days.

with implicit faith; that is to say, he believed that after eight years the full moons returned with absolute accuracy to the same days of the month, so that it would only be necessary to note the days of occurrence of full moon for eight successive years, and you would then be in a position to name the days of full moon in any other year, future or past. He drew up such a Table accordingly, but he wished that his Table should exhibit the days of the week, as well as of the month. Now, assuming his principle to be correct, in seven times eight years the full moons would return to the same day of the week, as well as of the month. A cycle, therefore, of 56 years would have answered his purpose, but the cycle actually engraved on his chair is a double cycle of such a kind; that is to say, it is one of 112 years.

(2). It is not typographically convenient to exhibit here the whole of the cycle, but I print the first column, translated into our modern notation, by the help of which the reader can easily supply the other six columns :—

Int.	1. April 13, Saturday.	
	2. April 2, Wednesday.	<i>Incarnation of Christ.</i>
B.	3. March 21, 22, Sunday.	<i>Hezekiah.</i>
Int.	4. April 9, Saturday.	<i>Josiah.</i>
	5. March 29, Wednesday.	
	6. March 18, Sunday.	
B. Int.	7. April 5, Saturday.	
	8. March 25, Wednesday.	
Int.	9. April 13, Tuesday.	
	10. April 2, Saturday.	
B.	11. March 21, 22, Wednesday.	
Int.	12. April 9, Tuesday.	
	13. March 29, Saturday.	
	14. March 18, Wednesday.	
B. Int.	15. April 5, Tuesday.	
	16. March 25, Saturday.	

In the above, B. marks bissextile years, and Int. those in which an intercalary month is to be inserted. The days of the month are the same for all the columns, being the only days on which, according to the belief of Hippolytus, Paschal full moons could occur. The second column contains days of the week, each one day earlier than those in the first column; that is to say, as the first column begins Saturday, Wednesday, &c., so the second begins Friday, Tuesday, &c. In other words, the cycle exhibits that in the first year the full moon was Saturday, April 13; in 16 years' time it would be Friday, April 13; in 16 years more Thursday, and so on, until, at the end of 112 years it comes back to Sunday, April 13, again. Hippolytus states that the first year of his cycle corresponds to the first year of the Emperor Alexander, that is to say, to A.D. 222. The meaning of the notes *Incarnation of Christ*, &c., will be explained presently.

(3). But it is only true in a very rough way, that after eight years full moons return to the same day. On the first attempt to use a cycle founded on this supposition its difference from the truth might not be great enough to attract attention; but the error would go on accumulating, and when another eight years came round the cycle must come under suspicion. On the third repetition the cycle would certainly be abandoned as worthless. There is independent evidence that the cycle of Hippolytus was thus abandoned in less than twenty years after it was published.<sup>3</sup> We have thus a decisive confirmation of the soundness of the arguments for the contemporaneous origin of the statue of Hippolytus already mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> This appears from a Pseudo-Cyprianic tract, *De Pascha Computus*, published in the year 243, in which the idea of the 16 years' cycle is re-

tained; but each of the dates given by Hippolytus has had to be pushed on three days.

Clearly it must have been before the worthlessness of the cycle of Hippolytus was discovered that it was engraved for his perpetual honour.

(4). For our purposes it is more convenient that the Table published by Hippolytus was not accurate. A perfectly correct calendar of full moons would reveal nothing on the face of it as to the time when it was composed; but one only correct for a limited time may confidently be assigned to the period when it gave true information. Now, the Table of Hippolytus gives accurately the astronomical full moons for the years 217-224, inclusive. For the eight following years the true full moons are a day or two later than those given by the Table; for the eight previous years they are a day or two earlier. As we go further away from the first-mentioned years the cycle goes further and further astray. It is, therefore, a reasonable conclusion that Hippolytus got the idea of the eight years' cycle about A.D. 216; that he then noted the full moons for eight successive years, and published the results about 224 in a Table which he expected would exhibit the full moons for all time to come. In publishing his cycle he began with A.D. 222, because it was the first year of the reign of the then emperor.

(5). But we are still more indebted to the mistake of Hippolytus in supposing that his cycle enabled him to tell the day of the month and of the week of any Passover, or Easter, past or future, for he investigated the date of every Passover mentioned in the Old Testament, and noted to what year of his cycle it belonged, so that the cycle engraved on the chair contains implicitly Hippolytus's whole system of chronology. To make this plain I give a list of the notes on the cycle, which, it is to be remembered, is one of 112 years:—

Year of Cycle.

2	Wednesday, April 2,	γένεσις Χριστοῦ.
3	Sunday, March 21, 22, <sup>4</sup>	ἐξεκίας.
4	Saturday, April 9,	ἰωσείας.
15	Tuesday, April 5,	ἔξοδος κατὰ δανιήλ.
17	Friday, April 13,	ἔσδρας κατὰ δανιήλ καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ.
22	Saturday, March 18,	ἐξεκίας κατὰ δανιήλ καὶ ἰωσείας.
32	Friday, March 25,	πάθος Χριστοῦ.
35	Friday, March 21, 22,	ἡσοῦς.
55	Wednesday, April 5,	ἡσοῦς κατὰ δανιήλ.
106	Friday, April 2,	ἔξοδος.
108	Wednesday, April 9,	ἐν ἐρήμῳ.
111	Wednesday, April 5,	ἔσδρας.

(6). To speak now of the chronological use to be made of these notes—it is easy to see, that since the Table tells the year of the cycle to which each Passover belongs, we should have Hippolytus's exact date if we only knew in which series of 112 years he supposed the event to have occurred. But there can be no difficulty about that, since we can never go so many as 112 years wide of the mark in trying to restore his chronology.<sup>5</sup>

For instance, let it be asked what did Hippolytus reckon as the year of the Passion. The Table puts it down as the 32nd year of his cycle. Now, the first year of the cycle on the chair is stated to be the first year of the

<sup>4</sup> This curious double date has not been explained. The Sunday belongs to March 21. I note that in 216 the full moon really occurred in the forenoon of March 21, and in 224 in the afternoon of March 22. And my guess is, that Hippolytus had begun the formation of his cycle in 216, and had put down March 21, but that in 224, the year when I take him to have published his cycle, he had some doubt of the accuracy of his note, and so

gave the alternative March 22.

<sup>5</sup> Strangely enough, this is what Hilgenfeld has done in an article in his *Zeitschrift* (1892, p. 271), which has reached me since the present Paper was in type. He has rightly apprehended the chronological use to be made of the cycle; but in one place he goes 112 years wrong, in another 224, arriving at results so strange, that I wonder he was not startled by them.

Emperor Alexander; that is to say, A.D. 222, and the 32nd of that cycle would be A.D. 253. The 32nd year of the preceding cycle would be 112 years earlier, *i.e.* A.D. 141, a date still too late. But go back another 112 years, and we come to A.D. 29, which is clearly the date intended; and there is independent evidence that Hippolytus supposed the Passion to have occurred in that year. The consuls for the year were C. Fufius Geminus and L. Trebellius Geminus, and hence the year is often spoken of as that of the two Gemini.

(7). The method just employed might equally be used to express in our modern reckoning the date B.C. which Hippolytus assigned to each of the Old Testament Passovers mentioned in his cycle; or, perhaps, with less trouble we can see what interval he supposed to have separated any two of these Passovers. For example, we see at a glance that since *γένεσις Χριστοῦ* is marked on the second year of the cycle, and *πάθος* on the 32nd, Hippolytus, when he made the cycle, must have supposed that our Lord suffered in the 30th year of his life. Take again the first two Passovers named in the Table, that of Hezekiah, which is put down to the third year of the cycle, and that of Josiah, which is referred to the fourth. Hippolytus must have counted the interval between them either one year, or 113, 225, &c. One year is out of the question, and as we know roughly that the interval was somewhat over 100 years, we can conclude that Hippolytus counted it exactly 113 years. Proceeding in this way, and reasoning solely from the Table on the chair, we can restore the chronology of Hippolytus, and write it in our modern notation as follows. He counted:—

The Exodus,	. . . . .	B.C. 1689
According to Daniel,	. . . . .	„ 1556
Joshua's Passover,	. . . . .	„ 1648
According to Daniel,	. . . . .	„ 1516

Hezekiah's, . . . . .	B.C.	784
According to Daniel, . . . . .	„	653
Josiah's, . . . . .	„	671
According to Daniel, . . . . .	„	541
Ezra's . . . . .	„	564
According to Daniel, . . . . .	„	434
Birth of Christ, . . . . .	„	1
The Passion, . . . . .	A.D.	29

The most striking thing in this Table is the double date assigned to each Passover, the difference not being small, but in each case as much as 130 years. The explanation is, that he was unable to reconcile with the prophecy of Daniel the interval between Ezra and Christ, as deduced from secular historians. That interval is given on the chair as 563 years, and we know from another source the process by which he got it. He added together the lengths of the reigns of the Persian kings from Cyrus to Alexander, and made the sum 245 years; and he counted the period from Alexander to Christ as about 80 olympiads, or 320 years. On the other hand, he thought that, according to Daniel's prophecy, the interval ought to be only 434 years. Daniel's words are: 'Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people. . . . Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and three score and two weeks,' &c. Accordingly, most interpreters have counted the seventy weeks as beginning from the time (still future when the prophecy was delivered) of the issuing of the Persian king's edict for the restoration of Jerusalem; but Hippolytus counts from the time of the prophecy itself. This he takes to have been received in the 21st year of the Captivity; the 7 weeks first mentioned in the prophecy he takes to refer to the 49 years remaining

to the end of the 70 years' captivity. So thence to the Messiah he counted the predicted period to be 62 weeks, or 434 years, not 490, as other interpreters had reckoned. But on the chair he makes the astonishing confession that he is quite unable to reconcile this with the interval deduced from secular history; and apparently, being at a loss which to choose, he calculates the date of every Passover both on the supposition of a 563 and a 434 years' interval.

(9). But here a curious point demands attention. The prophecy of Daniel evidently only affects the interval between Ezra and Christ, and therefore the difference between the two computations, which in that case is 130 years, ought to be the same for every other Passover. But actually it mounts step by step to 131, to 132, to 133 years. The explanation is that Hippolytus, who was but a poor arithmetician, in computing the interval from Ezra to Hezekiah, by adding together the intervals from Ezra to Josiah, and from Josiah to Hezekiah, counts twice over the year of Josiah common to the two intervals; and in this way he went a year wrong for every interval he added in. The reader will more easily pardon the mistake if he tries himself to do a sum in addition of numbers expressed in the Roman or Greek notation. Hippolytus probably counted mechanically by means of an abacus. There is like inaccuracy in the Chronicle of which I shall speak presently.

(10). From the fact that Hippolytus puts a double date on his cycle, as an unexplained mystery, we can safely conclude that at this time he was unacquainted with the solution of the difficulty given by Africanus, and which has been generally adopted by succeeding interpreters, namely, to count the 70 weeks from the final command to restore and build Jerusalem, given in the 20th year of Artaxerxes. On the other hand, it is possible that Africanus may have been acquainted with the calculation of Hippolytus. He

says that if we count the years from the first of Cyrus to Christ, they exceed the 70 weeks by more than 100 years; that the excess is still greater if we count from the time that the prophecy was given to Daniel, and greater again if we count from the beginning of the captivity. The second method of computation is that adopted by Hippolytus, but it is, no doubt, possible that Africanus may refer to preceding computers whom Hippolytus followed.

(11). The results just obtained enable us to assert with absolute confidence the correctness of the received opinion, which ascribes to Hippolytus the authorship of the system of chronology contained in the tract *Liber Generationis*, which was included by Du Cange among the illustrative documents appended to his edition of the Paschal Chronicle, and which was discussed in Mommsen's well-known essay on the chronographer of the year 354. When I have occasion to speak of this work of Hippolytus I refer to it as his 'Chronicle.' In this tract the interval between the Exodus and the Passion is also counted by Passovers, and the intervals between the successive Passovers are given as 41, 864, 114, 108, 563, 30. On the chair the intervals are 41, 864, 113, 107, 563, 30. Thus the figures completely agree, except in two cases, where the difference is only a unit. This slight difference weighs nothing against the argument for identity of authorship furnished by agreement in a very peculiar chronology. Thus the four Hippolytine intervals, 864, 114, 108, 563, are calculated by the Cyprianic computer 826, 103, 144, 465; by Eusebius, 730, 114, 111, 514; by Syncellus, 909, 105, 128, 502; by Archbishop Ussher, 725, 102, 103, 529. The Chronicle gives us the details of the chronological system, of which the principal epochs are noted on the chair; and the chief additional information it gives is that Hippolytus counted our Lord to have appeared in the year of the world 5502. The Chronicle is completely silent about Daniel's seventy

weeks, and assumes the 563 interval with undoubting confidence. This agrees with the fact that the Chronicle is later than the cycle, and is certainly not the work on the Passover mentioned by Eusebius, in which the cycle was embodied.<sup>6</sup>

(12). From the combined testimony of the Chronicle and of the engraving on the stone we have such full information as to the chronological system of Hippolytus that we can decisively disprove Mommsen's conjecture, that he derived it from Africanus.<sup>7</sup> His system differs from that of Africanus in a multitude of details. Here it will be enough to say that the years of the world assigned to the three events, the calling of Abraham, the Exodus, and the Babylonish Captivity, are, in the system of Hippolytus, 3387, 3817, 4842; in that of Africanus, 3277, 3705, 4750. But the most decisive evidence is afforded by the proof just given that Hippolytus was ignorant of the reconciliation made by Africanus between the prophecy of Daniel and secular history.

(13). I come now to speak of the chronological differences between the commentary on Daniel and the system adopted in the Chronicle and Easter cycle, but must first

<sup>6</sup> In the list of the works of Hippolytus engraved on the chair, as given by Migne (*Patrologie* x.) and other authorities, we read ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ ἐν τῷ πέντακτι. But I published some time ago a correction furnished me by Dr. Abbott, that the true reading is, instead of κατὰ, καὶ τὰ.

<sup>7</sup> Africanus has lately been the subject of a study by Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, Leipzig, 1880. I have never been satisfied that the combination made in the title is not a little rash. The only authority for

'Sextus' is Suidas, who speaks of a Sextus Africanus as the author of a secular book called the *Cesti*. All early authorities who speak of the Church writer call him Julius. I myself believe that the Church writer was the author of the *Cesti*, but I am not quite so sure that Suidas may not have been mistaken as to the prænomen. And when we proceed to 'combine our information,' we run the risk of making the same mistake as if we were to speak of Bishop Samuel Joseph Butler, the author of *Hudibras* and of the *Analogy*.

speak of their point of agreement, namely, the determination of the date of our Lord's crucifixion, which, in both systems, is fixed as March 25, A.D. 29. Now, as to the day of the month, it was inevitable that Hippolytus should have fixed it as he did, if he believed the year to be 29, for he was an implicit believer in the principle that after 16 years, full moons return to the same day, and as the Easter full moon was on March 25 in A.D. 221, he trusted his cycle that it must have been on the same day in A.D. 29. He could not have got the date March 25 from tradition, for there is no evidence that any one before him had fixed on this day. Clement of Alexandria gives the dates assigned by various persons who aimed at minute accuracy as March 21, April 20, April 14.<sup>8</sup> And there could have been no true tradition of the kind, for in the year 29 the full moon really fell on March 18, a full week away from the date of Hippolytus. In fact, according to the rules adopted by the Roman Church after it became acquainted with the 19 years' cycle, Easter in that year ought to have been celebrated on April 17. We can therefore regard the date March 25 as inseparably connected with the 16 years' cycle of Hippolytus, and may confidently assert that any ancient writer who names March 25 as the day of the Crucifixion is later than Hippolytus, and got the idea from him.

(14). It is a more doubtful question, whether Hippolytus had any historical authority for fixing on the year 29. Of course, we know roughly that this could not have been far from the time, but for saying that this was exactly the year, I do not know that we have any authority clearly prior to or independent of Hippolytus. And Hippolytus had reasons, independent of historical testi-

<sup>8</sup> These dates were, no doubt, also arrived at by astronomical backward calculation of the Passover day, probably by the help of the 19 years cycle.

mony, for fixing on that particular year; for with him it was an essential matter, that the day which his cycle exhibited as the Crucifixion day should be a Friday. Now, if he had a general knowledge of the time of the event, the only years he would find fulfilling this condition were 26, 29, 32; and of these, 29 is chronologically the most probable. It seems to me quite possible that Hippolytus chose this year without any better reason than that here indicated, and that other writers simply repeated it after him.

(15). I come now to the date of the birth of Christ. On the chair the second year of the cycle has the note γένεσις Χριστοῦ, with the date April 2, as to which I have no doubt that the received opinion is right; that not the birth, but the conception of our Lord is intended. Now, as the cycle is only intended to give the dates of Easter full moons, the question arises, why should it be imagined that our Lord's conception took place at such a time? No explanation of this presents itself in the remains of Hippolytus himself; but in the Paschal Chronicle, a work of the seventh century, but which is largely based on the labours of earlier writers, we have a calculation which probably gives us a clue to the method of Hippolytus. It was inferred from Luke i. 36 that an interval of six months separated the conception of our Lord from that of John the Baptist. Now the idea, though no doubt an erroneous one, was entertained by many in early times, that the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Zacharias took place as he was ministering on the great day of Atonement, which was held on the 10th day of the Jewish seventh month. If Hippolytus shared this opinion he might have allowed four days for the completion of the days of ministration of Zacharias, and for his return to his house, and so brought the conception of John the Baptist to the 14th day of the seventh month, and consequently,

that of our Lord to the 14th day of the first month. But whether this was the way in which he calculated or not, the cycle puts it beyond doubt, that Hippolytus reckoned the conception to have taken place at the time of the Passover full moon.

We have then a simple answer to the question proposed by Professor Bratke, why did Hippolytus fix on April 2 as the day of our Lord's conception? It was because that was the day on which his cycle exhibited the Passover full moon as having taken place in the year in which he believed the conception to have occurred.

(16). But the commentary on Daniel enables us to answer another question—How was it that, notwithstanding the authority which Hippolytus enjoyed in the Western Church as a scientific chronologer, the Church has always celebrated the conception, not on April 2, but on March 25? We can now reply, Because Hippolytus himself, before his death, corrected his statement, and altered the date April 2 into March 25. The commentary on Daniel contains the statement, 'our Lord was born on Wednesday, December 25, in the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus, and the 5500th year from Adam. He suffered in the 33rd year, on Friday, March 25, in the 18th year of Tiberius, and the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio.'<sup>9</sup> The statement as to the year of our Lord's death is in complete accordance with cycle and Chronicle; but that as to the date of His conception is doubly at variance with them, making the day March 25, instead of April 2, and the year A.M. 5500, instead of 5502. Now, the commentary confirms the date 5500 by various mystical reasons. Add together the length, breadth, and height of the ark of the covenant, and you get five cubits and a-half, from which

<sup>9</sup> The substantial correctness of this reading has been lately confirmed by an independent authority.

number that of 5500 is mystically derived. Again, St. John says (xix. 14), 'It was the sixth hour'; but the day of the Lord is 1000 years, therefore the sixth hour means 500 years. I had thought these calculations reconcilable with the date 5502, taken as a round number, and equivalent to 5500, although if that were intended we should have expected Hippolytus to have been exact in quoting St. John's words, 'It was *about* the sixth hour.' However, I have convinced myself that 5500 exactly is what was intended, for I observe that the two corrections I have mentioned are inseparably connected: April 2 is the date given on the cycle for the Passover full moon of the year A.M. 5502, and March 25 for that of the year 5500. In fact, it is plain that the latter year, being separated by 32 years, or two cycles, from A.M. 5532, which Hippolytus counted as the year of the Passion, he must have reckoned the Passover full moon in each as occurring on the same day, viz. March 25. Thus then, if Hippolytus altered the year from A.M. 5502 to 5500, he would have inevitably altered the day of the Incarnation from April 2 to March 25; but if the day April 2 had been handed down by Hippolytus, I know no reason why any one should wish to change it, after the 16 years' cycle had been exploded.

I had thought the change from 5502 to 5500 might have been due to the influence of Africanus, who counted 5500 as the year of our Lord's birth. There seems also to be a trace of Africanus in the fact that the years of the Persian kings, which in the Chronicle are counted as 245, are in the commentary counted 230, as Africanus does, this reading being attested by St. Jerome. But I cannot see that in the commentary he makes any attempt to get over the difficulty the cycle shows him to have felt, of reconciling the two periods of 434 years and 563, though if he had known the work of Africanus on the 70 weeks, the solution would have suggested itself to him, of making the two

periods of 7 weeks and 62 weeks, not continuous, but separated by an interval, in the same manner as he believed the remaining one week of the 70 to be separated by an interval from the 62. But there is no mention in the commentary of the 20th year of Artaxerxes.

(17). I think then that we need give no other explanation why Hippolytus made this correction than that, by his own study of the Gospel of St. John, he found out that he had made a mistake in assigning too short a period to our Lord's public ministry. From that Gospel he would find that, in addition to the Passover which he had himself set down our Lord as attending in 5532, He had attended two previous Passovers, and therefore that the date of His first public appearance must be pushed back two years. Obviously, between counting a one year's and a three years' ministry there is a difference of two years. Thus we see why, since the date of the Passion could not be altered, he would find it necessary to push back the date of the Nativity from 5502 to 5500, and not further.

In truth, the only wonder is that Hippolytus did not find out sooner that the Gospel of St. John implies a three years' ministry, yet no one before him can be certainly named as having made this discovery. Africanus only counted a one year ministry, and the 'acceptable year of the Lord' was regarded by many as indicating the length of Christ's public teaching. Hippolytus, however, made a mistake of his own, which Africanus was skilful enough to avoid.<sup>10</sup> For it will be observed that Hippolytus,

<sup>10</sup> Africanus is greatly superior to Hippolytus in scientific knowledge and skill. Hippolytus was content with an 8 years' cycle; Africanus was acquainted with the 19 years' cycle, which we still use. From knowing that in the 19 years there were 235 lunations, he calculates that it gives for

the length of a lunation  $29\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{4}$  days, and he correctly finds that the difference between this and the popularly received length,  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, is  $\frac{1}{12}$  of a day. This seems a very creditable arithmetical performance, considering the great inconvenience of the notation in which he had to work.

putting down the conception of our Lord in the Easter of the 2nd year of his cycle, and His death in the Easter of the 32nd, does not allow time even for a one year's ministry after his attaining the age of 30. Africanus, on the other hand, placing the Nativity in the year A.M. 5500, does not put the Passion earlier than 5531.

In the corrected table of Hippolytus, which puts back the Nativity to A.M. 5500, our Lord's whole life would be no more than 32 years; and it is to be noted that December 25 in that year would be a Thursday. It is then with some surprise that we find the commentary on Daniel state our Lord to have died in his 33rd year; and, moreover, it states that the day of the Nativity was a Wednesday, which answers to a birth in the year 5499. The former statement can be reconciled with the system of Hippolytus, who, counting our Lord to have been born in the year 5500, and to have died in 5532, would probably describe the death as having taken place in the 33rd year; but the statement that He was born on a Wednesday implies a birth in the year 5499, which is inconsistent with the system of Hippolytus, who, moreover, if he had supposed our Lord to have been born in that year, would have been led by his cycle to believe that the Conception took place April 5. I conclude, therefore, that this statement did not proceed from Hippolytus himself, but was introduced by a later editor of his commentary, who did not care about the 16 years' cycle. Some other considerations make the possibility of such a later editing very conceivable.

(18). The Liberian Catalogue of the Roman bishops contains the entry—'Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Yppolitus presbyter exiles sunt deportati in Sardinia in insula nociva, Severo et Quintino cons.'—that is to say, A.D. 235. It is generally recognized, that by the Yppolitus here mentioned we are to understand our Hippolytus.

Alexander Severus died in the March of 235. His Pagan successor, Maximin, not being in Rome, is not likely to have been directly the author of the sentence of exile, which was probably pronounced by the authority of the city rulers. Döllinger's theory was that Hippolytus was the head of a body of Christians who denied the authority of Pontianus, and that the turbulence of their disputes caused the heathen magistrates to restore quiet by banishing the heads of both parties. It seems to me more probable that it was rather the friendship than the enmity of Hippolytus which brought Pontianus into trouble.

What we are at first concerned with is the chronological difficulty that the 'Chronicle' of which we have spoken so much winds up by giving the number of years to Easter, 235, and mentions the death of the Emperor Alexander. It was natural to infer that the 'Chronicle' must have been the very last work of Hippolytus before his banishment. Where then are we to find room for the commentary on Daniel, and where for the treatise on Antichrist, which seems to have been written not long before that commentary?

As the Chronicle, however, seems to have been complete at the end of March, and the banishment may have taken place late in the year, there remain several months during which Hippolytus may have been occupied with the commentary on Daniel. And we are not even bound to suppose the note of the length of Alexander's reign to belong to the Chronicle as first published. Amongst ourselves the author of a book prints in the first instance a considerable number of copies, and makes no change in it until these are disposed of, and he brings out a new edition. But when books were copied by hand, the number of copies issued in the first instance is likely to have been comparatively small, and the author may be said to have made a new edition every time that he ordered a fresh copy of his

manuscript to be made. We cannot then safely conclude that the publication of the Chronicle was as late as the last event which we now find mentioned in it, for it is easy to conceive that, though the Chronicle might have been written in the middle of the reign of Alexander, yet on that Emperor's death (which to a chronicler who counted his years by Emperors' reigns would be the beginning of a new era) the author might have noted in his manuscript the number of years from Christ to the present date. There is, therefore, no chronological difficulty in supposing the composition of the treatise on Antichrist and the commentary on Daniel to have occupied Hippolytus during the closing years of Alexander's reign and the time that immediately followed.

Overbeck, Bardenhewer, and Lightfoot have held that these books must have been written during a time of persecution. I do not suppose that in those days the Christians were ever free from persecution of some kind, but I see no proof that when these books were written the persecution was either violent or formal. On the contrary, what Hippolytus says is—'If you suffer so much now from partial and local persecution, how terrible will it be in the days of Antichrist.' And, as I have already said, we may be sure that the state of things was comparatively peaceful when a Christian interpreter of prophecy thought that the appearance of Antichrist was not likely to come for a couple of centuries.

(19). The two works, on Antichrist and on Daniel, go very much over the same ground, and a glance at either will show how much there was to excite the anger of the least jealous Roman government. Daniel's vision is expounded: the iron feet of the image represent the kingdom of the Romans, which is only to be succeeded by the personal appearance of Antichrist, which again will be speedily followed by the coming of the Messiah, who will

establish a kingdom of perpetual duration. The reason why Antichrist does not at once appear is that τὸ κατέχον is the Roman empire, which must first be taken out of the way. He quotes at full length all the prophecies of the Apocalypse about the judgment of the great whore and the destruction of the mystic Babylon, and makes it quite plain that Rome was intended. No wonder that, in the preface to his work on Antichrist, he should have instructed the friend to whom it was inscribed to be careful to whom he communicated it. "St. Paul had instructed Timothy (2 Tim. ii. 1, 2) to commit to 'faithful men' the things which he had heard of him. 'All men have not faith' (2 Thess. iii. 2), and great will be our danger if easily and without thought we commit the revelations of God to profane and unworthy men." Still, with an emperor on the throne who, if not a Christian, favoured and protected the Christians, it is likely that the secret was not very rigidly kept. On Alexander's death Hippolytus found that the Emperor had been τὸ κατέχον in a sense which perhaps he had not imagined. One of the first acts of the city magistrates was to send into banishment the author of the book on Antichrist, and the head of the community to which he belonged, and I think no one who tries to put himself in their place will consider that they acted with unreasonable harshness. From their point of view, the work on Daniel was as bad a book as could possibly be, and that on Antichrist little better, and they probably thought they dealt leniently in sentencing the writer, not to death, but to penal servitude. We cannot be certain that the work on Daniel, though finished, was actually published before its author's banishment. At all events, after his departure the editing of it must have passed into other hands, and when it became safe to issue it, the disciple who ultimately put the book into circulation, and who had learned from his master to assign to our Lord a

three years' ministry, might easily have drawn the obvious inference, that our Lord's life must have been one of 33 years, and not of 32, as Hippolytus had hastily reckoned.

Thus the conclusion to which I come is, that instead of the commentary on Daniel being one of the earliest works of Hippolytus, written about 203, it was his latest work, not finished till A.D. 235, and possibly even published posthumously.

(20). If I am right in thinking that it was between A.D. 224 and 235 that Hippolytus came to perceive that our Lord's ministry lasted more than one year, the question may be asked, How came he to make this discovery? To this we can only give a conjectural answer; but my conjecture is that it was Caius from whom he learned it, and I will tell my reasons for thinking so. We know from the inscription on the statue that Hippolytus wrote in defence of the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John, and it had been conjectured by several scholars that Caius had been the assailant of the Apocalypse against whom Hippolytus contended. This conjecture has been turned into certainty by the fragments of Caius recovered by Dr. Gwynn, from which it appears that the criticisms of Caius answered exactly to the description given by Dionysius of Alexandria, that some of his predecessors who rejected the book had gone over the whole of it, criticizing every chapter. It is exactly in this detailed criticism that Caius deals. The wonderful signs which the Apocalypse represents as destined to precede our Lord's second coming are criticized one by one, and said to be inconsistent with the Gospel's representation of the suddenness and unexpectedness of the Messiah's coming: the idea of angels blowing trumpets is found to be ridiculous: the loosing of the four angels in the river Euphrates is, in like manner, ridiculed. Now, Dr. Gwynn's fragments also

turn into certainty Lipsius's conjecture, that Epiphanius, in his section on the *Alogi*<sup>11</sup> (*Haer.* 51) has borrowed from Hippolytus. All that Epiphanius says in explanation of the prophecy of the four angels and the river Euphrates is almost word for word the same as is found in the quotation from Hippolytus in Gwynn's fragments. We cannot doubt then that Caius assailed the Apocalypse, and that Hippolytus replied to him. But the work of Hippolytus was a defence of the Gospel, as well as of the Apocalypse, and we ask, Was the Gospel also assailed by Caius? Dr. Gwynn notes that, in defending the Apocalypse, Hippolytus quotes the Gospel, as if this were common ground between him and his antagonist. And in that part of Epiphanius's section on the *Alogi* which deals with the Gospel of St. John it is plain, from internal evidence, that the long discussion which he gives is his own, and is not taken from Hippolytus. To the general evidence from style may be added that the days he assigns for our Lord's birth and resurrection are not those of Hippolytus, and that he mentions Porphyry, who is later than Hippolytus. Yet, on closer examination, we find reason to think that the objections which Epiphanius here undertakes to answer are derived from Hippolytus, though his way of answering them is his own.

(21). Now, first, we must notice that there is no trace that the *Alogi* whom Epiphanius confutes had any doc-

<sup>11</sup> Speculations about the *Alogi* might be much abridged if critics could be made to understand that Epiphanius's *Alogi* are Caius, and nobody else. It is true that Irenæus mentions opponents of the Fourth Gospel; but it seems to me that Epiphanius knew nothing about these people, and that he derived his information entirely from

Hippolytus, who, in his catalogue of heretics, included 'those who opposed the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John.' Epiphanius, who dislikes having anonymous heretics on his list, nick-named these opponents *Alogi*; but though Hippolytus used the plural number, I find no trace that he had anyone in view but Caius.

trinal reason for rejecting the Fourth Gospel.<sup>12</sup> The objections which he undertakes to refute do not relate to doctrine, but are all of the same style of detailed criticism which we find in Caius's objections to the Apocalypse;<sup>13</sup> for though Caius is called a heretic by Barsalibi, we might more charitably describe him as a rather rash Biblical critic—in short, a Baur who had the misfortune to live in a wrong century. His principal objection is that the account given by St. John is inconsistent with that given by the Synoptic Evangelists. St. John, he says, after the Prologue, 'In the beginning was the Word . . . the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us,' goes on to tell of the testimony borne to Jesus by John the Baptist, and after that the narrative is continuous. The two disciples go with Jesus to see where He dwelt; the next day He calls Philip; three days after is the marriage in Cana of Galilee. According to the Synoptic narrative, on the other hand, our Lord, immediately after His baptism by John, is driven by

<sup>12</sup> I was much surprised to find Dr. Sanday saying (*Expositor*, December, 1891, p. 406), 'It seems to me hard to escape the plain statement of Epiphanius, that the Theodotians are a branch (*ἀπόσπασμα*) of the Alogian heresy.' No one is better aware than Dr. Sanday usually shows himself to be, that the credence to be attached to the statements of any writer depends on whether he is habitually careful not to make statements without good evidence for them. The character of Epiphanius is precisely the reverse. In this very section (51) there is a score of 'plain statements' about the composition of the Synoptic Gospels to which I am sure Dr. Sanday does not attach the slightest value. But

the particular statement with which we are here concerned has the very *minimum* of apparent evidence. It is the habit of Epiphanius to introduce his discussion of each new heresy by asserting some connexion between it and those which have gone close before it in his list; and in the majority of cases there is not the slightest ground for the assertion. That he should begin an account of the Theodotians by saying that they were a branch of the Alogi, can be passed over, as just Epiphanius's way.

<sup>13</sup> There seems good reason to think that Caius ascribed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus, but I find no sufficient evidence that he ascribed the Gospel to the same authorship

the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted by the devil, where He remains forty days, and does not call disciples until after His return. Epiphanius probably borrowed from Hippolytus the principle of his reply, viz. that none of the Gospel narratives was intended to be complete in itself; that, consequently, no Evangelist is to be regarded as bearing testimony against the things which he does not relate; nay, that it may be believed that an Evangelist purposely does not relate what he knew had been sufficiently told by his predecessors. He then proceeds at great length to make a harmony of the early life of our Lord, chronologically arranging the things told by different Evangelists. All this long section has every mark of being Epiphanius' own, and it is likely this was because Hippolytus had dealt so briefly with the objection as to give him little guidance.

(22). But the next objection is that with which we are most concerned. It is, that the Fourth Gospel makes mention of two Passovers attended by our Lord, whereas the other Evangelists tell of only one. It was only to be expected that Caius, in the course of the detailed critical examination we can see he was giving to the Fourth Gospel, should hit on this point, even if no one had observed it before him. And it is quite intelligible too, that Hippolytus, recognizing the truth of the observation, should find in it a reason, not for rejecting the Fourth Gospel, but for amending his own chronology.

I have remarked already that Hippolytus had counted his 30 years to the end of our Lord's ministry, instead of to the beginning, as the more accurate Africanus has done, and so has made our Lord's life one of 30 years, instead of 31. To make room for two earlier Passovers, in addition to that of the Passion already taken account of, only requires an alteration of two years in the chronology, and thus brings Hippolytus's figure to 32, which his successors soon saw

ought to be altered to 33. Epiphanius is evidently without guidance from Hippolytus as to the answer to Caius's objection. He holds fast to the 33, in accordance with the current chronology of his time, and remarks how all the heretics had gone wrong on this subject. 'The Valentinians, full of their dreams about 30 Æons, had only computed our Lord's life as one of 30 years. These Alogi who speak of two Passovers as mentioned by St. John overlooked that there were in fact three when we include the year of the Passion.' Epiphanius then undertakes to demonstrate that our Lord's life was one of 33 years by naming the consuls of every year. I fear the details of his calculation are open to serious criticism, but his result is that, starting, as Hippolytus does, with the birth of our Lord in the 42nd year of Augustus, he makes the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio (to which Hippolytus assigned the Passion) only the 32nd year, and so himself fixes the Passion for the following year, the consulship of Vinicius and Longinus Cassius. Epiphanius is evidently here working independently of Hippolytus, and we may infer that the work from which he drew his materials was much more full in its replies to Caius's objections to the Apocalypse than to those against the Gospel. Yet I think he affords evidence enough to make it certain that Caius had noted that our Lord's ministry, as represented by St. John, could not be compressed into one year, as it might according to the Synoptic version, and to make it probable that the duration of that ministry, as corrected by Hippolytus, was not more than 32 years.

(23). And now it only remains to say something as to the date of Hippolytus's reply to Caius. It is not inconvenient for us that Epiphanius, in dealing with the works of his predecessors, was such a headlong plunderer as to neglect the precaution taken by cautious thieves, of effacing the owner's marks on stolen goods. One of the

objections to the Apocalypse which he has to answer is that, in that book, John is directed to address a letter to the Church of Thyatira, but there is no Church of the Christians at Thyatira. The reply contains a statement, that 93 years after our Lord's Ascension the Church at Thyatira was so overrun with Montanism as to disappear, but that now, by God's mercy, after 112 years, it exists again, and is increasing. This passage can by no means be made to harmonize with the time of Epiphanius, and critics have generally recognized that he has here reproduced, without alteration, the words of the authority he was copying, that is to say, no doubt, of Hippolytus. Why he should date the triumph of Montanism exactly 93 years after our Lord's Ascension no one has explained;<sup>14</sup> but I do not find that anything is gained by conjectural alteration of the text, or that any satisfactory explanation is given by Hilgenfeld, for example, who asks us boldly to alter 93 into 73, or by Lipsius, who thinks that, instead of 'the Ascension' of our Lord, we may conjecturally substitute 'His birth.' Taking the figures as we find them, they seem to give plainly the date when the author wrote. Adding together 93 and 112, we find that the reply to Caius was written, as the author believed, 205 years after our Lord's Ascension; that is to say, since Hippolytus dated the Ascension A.D. 29, in the year 234, a year before his banishment. This date agrees so well with the conclusions I had come to on other grounds, that I have no hesitation in accepting it. We find then reason to think that in 234 Hippolytus had his attention forcibly drawn to the

<sup>14</sup> I think we should find the solution if we could recover the dialogue between Caius and Proclus. Both Caius and Hippolytus may have accepted as well-founded, boasts made by the

Montanist speaker in that dialogue, of the antiquity of his sect, and its universal prevalence in Asia Minor, and in Thyatira in particular.

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fact that St. John had represented our Lord as attending more Passovers than one, and so are not surprised to find that in 235 he should show that he had found himself under a necessity of altering his former chronology, which had assigned too short a duration to the Saviour's ministry.

G. SALMON.

## MISCELLANEA CRITICA.

ARISTOPHANES, *Acharnenses*, 13.

ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἦσθην, ἥνικ' ἐπὶ Μόσχῳ ποτέ  
 Δεξιθεὸς εἰσῆλθ' ἀσύμενος Βοιώτιον.

The ordinary interpretations of this vexed passage are: 'for the prize of a calf,' or 'after Moschus.' I wish to propose another, namely, that ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ποτέ are *the very words* of the Bœotian song which Dexitheus came forward to sing. That is the sort of song which honest Dicaeopolis would like—'Once upon a time, riding on a calf.' It is useless, of course, to inquire who or what was riding on a calf. It is not likely that Dicaeopolis was glad merely that Dexitheus came forward to sing a Bœotian song; he probably was eager to hear some particular favourite ballad, just as now-a-days a spectator of uneducated taste might say he preferred 'Nancy Lee' to all the Wagner or Beethoven at a concert. And this agrees with Aristophanes's habit of giving the words of the song. Thus he has, vs. 864 of this play—

τοῖς ὁστίνοις φυσῆτε τὸν πρωκτὸν κυνὸς,

where φυσῆτε is used in a ridiculous way, just as εἰσῆλθε is here. I mean, just as φυσῆτε might mean to distend by blowing, so εἰσῆλθε here might mean that the singer actually came in riding on a calf; and it is for the sake of that possible double sense that Βοιώτιον is kept until the end of the sentence. Compare also Nub. 1355: ᾄσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν κριὸν, ὡς ἐπέχθη. The 'shearing of the ram'

and the 'riding on the calf' are evidently songs of the same kind, and as one was after the heart of Strepsiades, so the other was after the heart of Dicaeopolis. For other songs quoted by their first words, compare Eq. 529, Δωροῖ συκοπέδιλε, and 530, τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων; Eccl. 931, ἄδω πρὸς ἐμαντὴν Ἐπιγένοι τῷ μῶ φίλῳ.

PLAUTUS, *Curculio*, I. 3. 34-36 (190. 1).

PALINURUS. Quid ais, propudium?

Tune etiam cum noctuinis oculis odium me vocas?

Ebriola persole nugae? PHAED. Tun meam Venerem vituperas?

The second verse is generally corrected: *Ebriola es, persolla, nugae*. Ussing writes: *Ebriolae persollae nugae*, taking *ebriolae persollae* as a genitive. I wish to point out that *ebriola* is not right at all. Planesium was not a tippler. What the Plautine slaves ridiculed in their masters' mistresses was their want of substance. So Milphio, in the *Poenulus*, ridicules Adelphasium as *nebula*, as *nimbata*, as *nugae merae*. The true reading here, I have no doubt, is FRIVOLA ES, *persolla, nugae*. *Frivola*, written *fribola*, would naturally pass into *Ebriola*. *Frivola* is 'trumpery,' and exactly matches *persolla*, 'a mere mask,' 'a shell,' and *nugae*: *frivolum* is joined with *scenicum* by Quintilian, 10. 7. 21.

LUCRETIVUS, II. 954-959.

Fit quoque uti soleant minus oblato acriter ictu  
Reliqui *motus vitales* vincere saepe,  
Vincere, et ingentis plagae sedare tumultus,  
Inque suos quicquid rursus revocare meatus  
Et quasi iam leti dominantem in corpore *motum*  
Discutere, ac paene amissos accendere sensus.

*Motus vitales*, in 948 and 955, seems to have caused the very unnatural expression *leti—motum*, in 958, to have

been written by a copyist for the true reading, *leti-noctem*. *Discutere* is properly joined with a word meaning darkness, and *accendere* seems to show that such a word had preceded.

IV. 75-77.

Et *volgo* faciunt id lutea russaque vela,  
Et ferrugina, cum magnis intenta theatri  
Per malos *volgata* trabesque trementia flutant.

Munro has no note on *volgata*, but it seems to be devoid of meaning; in my opinion, it has come from *volgo*, in 75. In his translation Munro has: 'when they are spread over large theatres, and flutter and move *as they stretch* across their poles and crossbeams.' But *volgata*, which Lucretius once uses, 5. 427 (*volgata per aevom*), of the atoms crowding promiscuously together, could not, in my opinion, have this meaning. I believe Lucretius wrote *aulaea*.

OVID, *Amores*, II. 7. 25.

Scilicet ancillam, *qui erat* tibi fida, rogarem?

So P. Read *quia erat*. Merkel and Ehwald read *quae tam* with inferior MSS. (3. 7. 19, *quo me*, P. points to *quom me*, not *quod me* of inferior MSS.).

*Ars Amatoria*, III. 453, 4.

Sunt quoque non dubia quaedam mala nomina fama.

Deceptae a multis *crimen amantis* habent.

Ovid says in these two lines—first, 'I need not caution you against men of notorious character'; secondly, 'those who allow themselves to be deceived a second time have only themselves to blame.' Read

Deceptae a multis *crimina mentis* habent.

## III. 741, 742.

Nomine suspectas iam spiritus exit in auras.

Labor, *io* cara lumina conde manu.

The interjection *io* is in Ovid a cry or shout. There is no place for it here. If we compare Propertius, iv. 7, 23,

At mihi non oculos quisquam inclamavit *euntis*,

it may, perhaps, favour the suggestion of *eo* here, 'I am sinking, *I am going*.'

*Rem. Am.* 45, 46.

Terra salutaris herbas, eademque nocentes,

Nutrit, et urticae proxima saepe rosa est.

The rose is not *herba*, nor particularly *salutaris*, nor, so far as I am aware, is it often close to the nettle. Perhaps—

Et urticae proxima saepe *rumex*.

The proximity of the dock to the nettle is well known.

*Rem. Am.* 699–702.

Non ego Dulichio furiali more sagittas

Nec raptas ausim tinguere in amne faces ;

Nec nos purpureas pueri rescabimus alas,

Nec sacer arte mea laxior arcus erit.

*Furiali*, all MSS. ; *furialis*, vulgo ; *frustrari*, Ehwald.

Read FURARI. The allusion is, of course, to the stealing of the bow and arrows of Philoctetes by Ulysses.

This emendation, which I sent up to Dr. Postgate some months ago for his new *Corpus*, I have since learned privately has been proposed by Mr. Housman. I do not know whether he has published it yet. In any case, I gladly resign it to him, but I do not think with him that the allusion is to the removal of the arms by Telemachus and Ulysses, narrated in the 19th book of the *Odyssey*. This was not a theft.

## PERSIUS, I. 8.

Nam Romae quis non ? a, si fas dicere—sed fas  
Tum cum ad canitiem et nostrum istud vivere triste  
Aspexi.

All good MSS., and most bad ones, have *Nam Romae est* or *Nam Romaest*. The only way in which I can account for this is by the supposition that Perseus wrote—

Nam Romae—‘st !’ quis non—a, si fas dicere, &c.

‘St,’ ‘hush!’ would be the interjection of his supposed interlocutor, advising him to be careful what he says against Roman society, or a mental interjection of Persius’s own, enjoining silence on himself or his hearer. The interruption after *Romae* corresponds to the interruption after *quis non*.

## IV. 25.

Quaesieris ‘nostin Vectidi praedia ?’ ‘cujus ?’  
‘Dives arat Curibus quantum non milius errat.’  
Hunc ais ? hunc dis iratis genioque sinistro  
Qui quandoque iugum pertusa ad compita figit  
Seriolae veterem metuens deradere limum  
Ingemit ‘hoc bene sit’ tunicatum cum sale mordens  
Caepe.

None of the explanations given of *pertusa* are satisfactory, nor, in my opinion, did *pertusa* come from the pen of Persius. Read PERTUSUM. The farmer hangs up his worn-out yoke at the Cross Roads to the Lares Compitales. The scholiast might have guided critics to *pertusum*. ‘In his *fracta iuga* ab agricolis ponuntur velut emeriti et elaborati operis indicium.’

Nothing is more common in the Persian archetype than the confusion of terminations. There is a similar

confusion of the terminations *-um* and *-a* in 5. 141, *Nihil obstat quin trabe vasta Aegaeum rapias*, where *vasta* was long since corrected to *vastum*, but in vain.

V. 73 *seqq.*

Libertate opus est : non hac, ut quisque Velina  
Publius emeruit scabiosum tesserula far  
Possidet. Heu steriles veri quibus una Quritem  
Vertigo facit !

A very slight and common corruption has induced intolerable confusion into this passage. *Hac* should be written *HANC* (*hāc*), and all is simple. *Hanc* (*libertatem*) is governed by *possidet*, and *far* is governed by *emeruit*, the reverse of the ordinary view.

‘What we want is freedom. It is not this freedom that each Publius owns, the moment he has taken his place in a tribe, and earned a right to a quota of mouldy meal for his ticket.’

## V. 176–179.

Jus habet ille sui palpo quem ducit hiantem  
Cretata ambitio ? *vigila*, et ciceringere large  
Rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint  
Aprici meminisse senes.

Often when writing out a translation of a Greek or Latin passage an incongruity strikes one which is not apparent on a cursory perusal. Here I was struck by the want of connexion between *vigila* and what follows. There is no propriety in *vigila* whatever. Largesses to the people did not require the giver to get up early. It seemed more likely that in *vigila* we had a corruption of another word denoting another article of the same class as *cicer*. I am now convinced that Persius wrote—

VICIAM et ciceringere large  
Rixanti populo.

Persius is here, as usual, imitating, or rather paraphrasing Horace, who has (*Sat.* 2. 3. 182)—

In *cicere* atque *fabæ* bona tu perdasque *lupini*?

As Horace mentions three sorts of beans and pease, so Persius mentions two. Although I cannot find a passage where *vicia* is coupled with *cicer*, there is more than one where *vicia* is joined with *fabæ* or *lupini*. Columella, 2. 14, Stercorari et iuvare agros *lupino faba vicia*; Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 75, Aut tenues fetus *viciae* tristisque *lupini* Sustuleris fetus; Ov. *Fast.* 5. 267, Flore semel laeso pereunt *viciaeque fabaeque*.

*Viciam* might be easily corrupted into *vigila*. *g* and *c* are confounded in the MSS. of Persius, and *i* and *l*. Instances of the former corruption are: 5. 191, *ligetur* for *licitur*, ABC; 5. 59, *fecerit* and *fregerit* confused. Of the latter: 6. 50, *conlues*, AB, for *coniues*; 6. 73, *inmelat* for *inmeiat*; 5. 92, *aulas*, C, for *auias*. These changes being conceded, it is plain that *viciã* would pass into *vigla*, *vigila*.

MARTIAL I. lxxviii. 2.

Indignas premeret pestis cum tabida fauces  
Inque *suos* vultus serperet atra lues,  
Siccis ipse genis flentis hortatus amicos  
Decrevit Stygios Festus adire lacus.

*Suos*, in vs. 2, is unnatural. Read ESOS. Cf. 11. 91. 7; Ipsaque crudeles *ederunt* oscula morbi; also of a cancer, *lues*. *Esos* after *e* became *sos*, corrected to *suos*.

IV. liv. 5.

Lanificas nulli tres exorare puellas  
Contigit: observant quem statuere diem.  
Divitior Crispo, Thræsea constantior ipso  
Lautior et nitido sis Meliore licet,  
Nil adicit penso Lachesis fusosque sororum  
Explicat, et semper de tribus una *negat*.

*Negat* has the preponderating authority of MSS. Gilbert reads *secat*, which is (perhaps) the reading of P, a good MS. I do not think either *negat* or *secat* gives good sense. *Negat* is inexplicable. It was probably the original corruption, and *secat* is an unsuccessful attempt to get a meaning. How did *negat* arise? Not surely from *necat*. Rather from NEAT. If we write *ut* for *et*, *neat* will give excellent sense—

Nil adicit penso Lachesis fusosque sororum  
Explicat, UT semper de tribus una NEAT.

The meaning is: 'There will be no pause in the spinning of your thread of life. There is, for this purpose, a division of labour among the Fates. Lachesis, who gives her sisters the *pensum* to spin, also takes the thread of each of her sisters from the *fusus*, as soon as that thread has reached the ground, and reinserts the *fusus* in the *pensum*,' all this being expressed by the word *explicat*. She does this for each of her sisters in turn; thus there is always one, at least, spinning. *Neo* is so commonly used of the spinning of the Fates, that it is expected here: cf. Ov. *Trist.* 5. 3. 26, *nentes fatalia Parcae*; Pont. 1. 8. 64, *Nerunt fatales fortia fila deae*. So *reneo*. Consol. ad Liv. 444, *Stant rata non ulla fila renenda manu*; Stat. *Silv.* 3. 1. 171, *Parcarum fila renebo*.

A. PALMER.

December, 1891.

ON THE COLOPHON OF THE BOOK OF  
DURROW.

THE Colophon of the *Book of Durrow* is as follows ;—

Rogo beatitudinem  
tuam sce praesbiter  
patrici ut quicumque  
hunc libellum manu te  
nuerit meminerit colum  
bae scriptoris. qui hoc scripsi  
(?) himet evangelium per xii  
dierum spatium. gtia dn̄i n̄ri s. s.

From this it has been too hastily inferred that the book professes to be written by St. Columba, a statement repeated by every writer who treats of the book. But this involves two assumptions—first, that the Columba named was the saint, whereas the name was a common one; and secondly, that the subscription is not a mere copy. It must be observed that the words underlined have been inked over by a later hand, and consequently, one might be inclined to say that the name ‘Columba’ itself deserves no attention, as it may be a forgery of this later scribe. Such an attempt to give a false antiquity and venerable origin to the book would not, indeed, be without example. Thus the *Book of Armagh* was attributed to St. Patrick, and to support this the name of the actual scribe, which occurred four times, was erased wholly or partially. It was brought to light by the present Bishop of Limerick, who ascertained the scribe’s name and the

date. The *Book of Durrow* itself furnishes an illustration of this desire to give false antiquity. An inscription in the volume states that it was written by St. Columba A.D. 500, and our MS. Library catalogues have copied the statement, although Columba was not born until A.D. 520. However, I see no appearance to indicate that the original letters in the colophon were different from those we now find. But it is generally conceded that, however this is to be explained, the book was not written by the saint. The style of writing indicates a later date, and in the judgment of experts the art points to the same conclusion. It has been observed also that the text is the Vulgate, whereas Columba, in his extant writings, does not use that version. To this, however, it may be replied, that Columba, in his journeys, must have met with many persons who used Jerome's version, and it was most natural that he should desire to make a copy for himself, while still using in his writings the version with which he was familiar. A more serious objection may be founded on the blunders of the scribe, which are sometimes such as a man of Columba's learning would be incapable of. Such are 'non sum ih̄ nisi' for 'non sum missus nisi'; 'venit in nubibus Magedan' for 'finibus.' Here the scribe discovered his error, and corrected it before writing the next word; 'habes-saidam' for 'ad bethsaidam'; 'traditio' for 'triduo'; 'Cussare agusto' for 'Caesare agusto'; 'scandalis' for 'sandalis.' In the 'Capitula' we find 'decem virilae si' for 'decem viri leprosi.' In the 'Interpretatio Nominum' we have such a blunder as

	heli	—er ascendens
	elmadadi	di mensura vigilans,
instead of	heli	ascendens
	elmadadi	di mensura
	er	vigilans.

The scribe was probably copying from a book in which the last of these had been at first omitted, and subsequently supplied in the margin.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the summaries of the Gospels, and the arguments which usually precede the text, are curiously deranged, the 'breves causae' of St. Luke and St. John coming after the latter Gospel. This points to the use by the scribe of a copy in which some leaves had been displaced, while he ignorantly followed the displacement.

An easy solution of some of these difficulties is that the subscription is not that of the actual scribe, but was simply copied by him from the archetype he was using. This is a well-known phenomenon. In the present case there are other indications which point to the same conclusion. Thus, the subscription follows the Capitula without any space intervening, whilst at some distance below are the words

Ora pro me fra  
ter mi dñs tecum sit.

In 'Evangelia Antehieronymiana' I suggested that this might have been written by the hand which inked over the letters underlined above. But on further consideration, I think it appears too ancient for that,<sup>2</sup> and I now think that these words were written by the actual scribe of the book. Indeed, any other person asking the

<sup>1</sup> An 'Interpretatio Nominum' is commonly found in Latin Biblical MSS. In copies of the whole Bible the list is generally very full, occupying, it may be, fifty or a hundred pages. Hence I cannot agree with Professor Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 220) that an acquaintance with these etymologies is any evidence of knowledge of Hebrew. Indeed, information (such as it was) on this subject was

much more accessible to a mediæval preacher than to a modern one, for the former found a whole dictionary within the covers of his Bible. And, in fact, all Aileran's interpretations are borrowed blindly from this traditional 'Interpretatio,' with its palpable errors. They prove, in fact, that he had no knowledge of Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> The late Bishop of Down considered it to be by a contemporary hand.

reader's prayers would most probably have added his own name.

Again, this hypothesis solves the problem of the Gospels being written in twelve days. To write the text of the present book (without the ornamental dots, the canons, &c.) in so short a period would be all but impossible. But a copy in smaller and more cursive characters might possibly be finished in that time.

If I am right in reading 'himet' in the second line, the hypothesis becomes a certainty. There has been a crease in the vellum, running across the first three letters, which adds to the difficulty of defining them. I have succeeded in flattening out the crease, and although its effect remains, I have little doubt that the true reading is as I have given it.

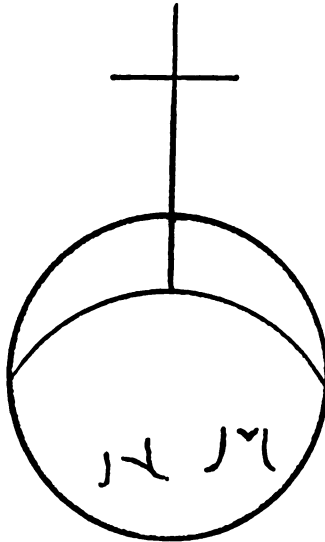
If so, the syllable 'mi' ought to have occurred at the end of the preceding line. It is not there now, nor can it ever have been. It is true, the vellum has lost a little at the edge (which is the inner); but in the fifth line it will be observed that there was not room for 'bae' after 'Colum.' It is evident that the scribe who divided 'Columbae' at a point between p and s of 'scripsi' would not have begun a new word further on in the next line. The letters of 'scripsi' too are evidently cramped. Now, the original scribe could not have omitted the 'mi' of 'mihi-met,' but a copyist might have done so. He has, for example, written 'relasti' for 'revelasti.'

The question remains, Was the original scribe Columba the saint? The only point against this is the fact that the text is that of the Vulgate, but this, as I have said, is not a serious difficulty. If then the text is copied from his, it would follow that, although the present book is not older than the seventh century, it exhibits a text of the sixth.

T. K. ABBOTT.

NOTE ON THE CODEX MONTFORTIANUS.

SOME years ago Professor Rendel Harris asked me to examine this MS., in order to see whether there was any watermark in the paper. I was not in town, and the result of the examination, as reported to me, and through me to Professor Harris, was that there was no watermark. Lately I examined the Codex more closely, and found the mark, only a small part of which is visible on any one leaf, close to the back and to the upper margin, so that it easily escaped notice.



Its figure is here represented. The circle is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and the total length is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. In no case is the whole circle found.

T. K. ABBOTT.

## ON A VOLUME OF WALDENSIAN TRACTS.

DR. J. HENTHORN TODD paid so much attention to the 'Books of the Vaudois,' on which he published a monograph, that I have been much surprised at discovering on our shelves a volume which escaped his notice, and which has certain points of interest. It is classed A. 6. 2, and measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 4, having 409 leaves (paper), besides the Calendar. The contents are chiefly sermons, but there are also tracts on the seven deadly sins and other moral subjects, and on Antichrist. The tract 'del Bal' is the text which (with the omission of two or three lines) is printed by Perrin. Todd speaks of Perrin's copy as having 'passages strangely transposed and garbled,' *i. e.* when compared with the two texts with which Todd was acquainted. But the copy before us is clearly the one used by Perrin. The tract on Antichrist, beginning 'Qual cosa sia antixt,' published by Perrin, is also in this volume. We have here also the answer to the question how Perrin was led to describe his MS. as of the date 1120. At the beginning of the volume is a Calendar, the first leaf of which is wanting. We find the missing leaf, however, in the volume classed C. 5. 22, in connexion with which Todd mentions it. After the Calendar is a Table to find Easter, with the Sunday letters for the cycle of 28 years. Opposite the letters *g, a*, for leap year, is, in red ink, 1120. The second figure was originally, as I believe, 5, and this agrees with the Sunday letters. No other year ending in 20 had the Sunday letters, *a, g*, for 700 years. Further, the contents of the volume correspond

to the description in Perrin (*Histoire des Vaudois*, p. 57), where, however, the words 'en datte de l'an mille cent et vingt' ought not to have been printed in italics, as if they formed part of the title of the tract on Antichrist. Mr. Algernon Herbert then was too hard on Perrin when he wrote: 'this was either a false description of the manuscript, or was afterwards felt to be too gross and unskilful an application of the forger's hand,' namely, because Perrin did not print the treatise on Antichrist 'with any such heading' (*apud* Todd, *Books of the Vaudois*, p. 95). Unless, indeed, it is supposed that it was Perrin that tampered with the date.

The following is a short list of the contents of the volume:—

Calendar (now six leaves).

Fol. 1, with the heading (red) pcca, begins 'Lo es de saber ch̄ cosa sia p<sup>ca</sup>.' Then follows an account of particular sins and their remedies, viz. of Superbia, Envidia, Ira, Acidia, Auaricia, Gollia, Luxuria.

24b, 'P ca de lenga.'

42, 'De la tauerna.'

42b, 'Lo bal.'

46b, Sermon.

48, Blank.

49 begins in a different hand a series of sermons on the Epistles and Gospels for the whole year, ending fol. 343a, which, by an error in the numbering, is marked 338. Then follow seven blank leaves, completing the stave of sixteen.

346 (as numbered, really 351) is headed 'v̄genas,' and begins 'Qvon lo nostre segno<sup>a</sup>, ỹ, x̄. era al mont.'

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Fol. 365<sup>b</sup> (as numbered), 'Qual cosa sia antix'.

378, Sermon 'de la fena Caninea.'

384, Sermon on the beatitudes, 'beneurāczas.'

393, Blank.

364, Sermon on the text 'Un home era ric etc,' beginning 'Aq̄st home ric sona maiorm̄t.' Treating of usury.

T. K. ABBOTT.

SPOONER'S HISTORIES OF TACITUS.<sup>1</sup>

THE thanks of all scholars, and especially those that are teachers, are due to Mr. Spooner for his learned and appreciative edition of the Histories of Tacitus. An English edition was badly needed, and Mr. Spooner has excellently supplied the deficiency. He is a perfect master of the history of the times, and a careful and diligent student of the language and style of Tacitus. The Introduction is admirable all through. Beginning with a full account of the MSS. and editions, it goes on to describe and criticize the different works of Tacitus, and to defend him against the strictures of some historians who have expected too much from him, and who, in their enthusiasm for 'scientific history' (which Mr. Spooner justly considers a misnomer), have ignored what Tacitus himself says is the aim of his work. 'I hold it to be the chief office of history,' says Tacitus (*Ann.* 3. 65), 'to recover virtue from oblivion, and that base words and deeds should have the fear of posthumous infamy.' The two pages (9, 10) in which Mr. Spooner urges these points are suggestive and instructive in the very highest degree. We agree heartily with the author, that 'our own age is, somewhat rashly and prematurely, only too ready to set aside and underrate' this, the moral point of view, and call to mind the great sentence in which Mommsen passed

<sup>1</sup> *The Histories of Tacitus, with Introduction, Notes, and an Index.* Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. Macmillan, 1892.  
By the Rev. W. A. Spooner, M.A.,

judgment on Polybius—‘History, the struggle of liberty and necessity, is a moral problem; Polybius treats it as if it were a mechanical one.’ Further on we find Mr. Spooner arguing that the vividness of many of the scenes described in the *Histories* (*e. g.* the closing scenes of Book III.) is probably due to the fact that Tacitus, then fifteen years of age, was an eye-witness of them. This may be so; but when we remember Livy’s pictured page, and the great excellence which the Roman writers attained in rhetorical exercises, we cannot feel so strongly on the point as Mr. Spooner does. He considers that the account of the revolt of Civilis was derived from Pliny, but that Cluvius Rufus (as Mommsen also holds) was the chief authority whom Tacitus, as well as Plutarch and Suetonius, followed in their narratives of the reigns of the Emperors from Galba to Vespasian. Then follows a long description of the state of the different provinces, mainly taken from Mommsen, which well exhibits Mr. Spooner’s powers in description and narrative. The section on the characters of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius is admirable. The defence of Otho is to our mind most interesting and convincing, and, with sound insight, Mr. Spooner puts his finger on the chief blot in the character of Vitellius—indecision. The section on the Battle of Bedriacum, in which use is made of the learned treatise of Mommsen in *Hermes*, v. pp. 161 ff., is followed by a really admirable chapter on that extraordinary episode, the revolt of Civilis. Here Mr. Spooner is at his very best. The narrative is striking and picturesque. When the Roman legions, who had sworn allegiance to the Gallic Empire, were ordered to march, ‘the full horror and absurdity of the position in which they had placed themselves seems to have been brought home to them.’ Nothing could be better, not even Mommsen, who describes the same event as ‘a tragedy, and at the same time a farce.’ Further, the

historical significance of the revolt, the weakness of Gaul, the strength of Rome, yet at the same time the growth of insubordination in the army, and the indication of the point from which danger to the Roman Empire was to be apprehended—all these considerations are clearly and fully dwelt upon by Mr. Spooner, and deserve most careful attention.

Coming to the Commentary, we may call Mr. Spooner's attention to some trifling errors of statement, which he ought, perhaps, to look into when the second edition is demanded. Thus he is not very careful in correctly stating to whom certain emendations are due, *e.g.* 1. 88. 16, *anxii* is due to Nolte, not to Heraeus; 2. 4. 19, *amor* is what Orelli proposes to read, not *dolor*; 2. 10. 9, *retinebat adhuc terrores* is due to Madvig, not to Meiser; 2. 40. 4, *admissuro* is found in one MS., and was read by Rhenanus. Again, such slips as *G.* (for *C.*), *Caesar* (4. 48. 5), and *Caius* (for *Gaius*), in the notes, call for correction (cp. pp. 305, 306, 466). At 4. 6. 3 the tribe of Eprius Marcellus is said to be Pal(atina), whereas it was Fal(erna): cp. C. I. L. x. 3853. At 4. 74. 22, *Vocula* for *Cerialis* is the merest oversight.

The historical notes in the Commentary are always valuable. It is in this direction we fancy that Mr. Spooner's inclinations most readily turn. He traces the actions of the several legions in considerable detail; he describes the battles fully. Sometimes, perhaps, he does not give us what we desire as regards so-called antiquities: thus we should be glad to know what Tacitus meant by *vincla ac libramenta tormentorum* (3. 23. 8). And as regards the usage of words, we often find ourselves dissenting from Mr. Spooner's statements. Thus, on *censuerat ut . . . restitueretur* (4. 9. 8), Mr. Spooner says that this construction occurs only once in Cicero; yet *censere ut* occurs in Acad. 2. 63; Cat. 3. 14, Sest. 74; Rabir. Post. 13;

Phil. 3. 37; 5. 34; 8. 14: and *censere* with subj., without *ut*, occurs at least eight times in Cicero. Again, two pages on, it is stated that the poetical *expediam* was first adopted into prose by Sallust, *Jug.* 5. It occurs at least as early as Pollio ap. Cic. Fam. 10. 33. 5; also in Cic. ad Brut. 1. 15. 1. On the next page we find it stated that in Caes. and Cic. *antecire* is only used absolutely or with a dat. This is not correct as regards Cic.: cp. Acad. Post. 1. 35; N. D. 2. 153; Brut. 229; Tusc. 4. 67; Sull. 23. It is quite correct as regards Caesar: the word occurs only in B. C. 1. 32. 8, and it is there used absolutely. Other notes of a similar nature which, perhaps, call for reconsideration (though they are rather minute points) are those on 1. 10. 7 (compared with 3. 33. 5); 1. 16. 7; 1. 30. 2; 3. 52. 12; 4. 16. 17; 4. 17. 10; 4. 19. 16; 4. 39. 15.

Some other miscellaneous matters we may notice. Thus we should wish for a fuller discussion on *fenus* (1. 20. 7), = 'capital,' money seeking investment, and a reference to Cic. Att. 6. 1. 4. So on *intemperies* (1. 64. 7) Mr. Spooner ought to have quoted Cic. Att. 4. 6. 3, *qui videar stulle illius amici intemperiem non tulisse*. Perhaps too the note on 3. 46. 9, *castra exscindere parabant ni . . . opposuisset*, might have been supplemented by parallels from Tacitus (4. 13, 14), and Tacitus's model, Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 358). There is an excellent note on this preventing or annulling use of *ni* in Dr. Henry's *Aeneidea*, vol. iii., pp. 734-5. At 1. 68. 14, where reference is made to the epitaph (unhappily spurious) on Julia Alpinula, we miss the reference to Byron's fine stanzas in *Childe Harold*, 3. 66, 67. In the difficult passage 2. 12. 7, *adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus*, 'while, on the one hand, he impaired good discipline in the army by his want of principle, he was yet eager for battles,' the proper parallel to quote was *Ann.* xv. 63, *et paullulum adversus praesentem fortitudinem mollius*. In 2. 47. 11 *tenuerint* and *reliquerint* are rather future

perfects indicative than perfects subjunctive, 'shall be found to have held (left)': cp. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 591, 9. 785. The right translation for *caligo* in 2. 80. 9 is 'dizziness,' or 'mist,' not 'darkness': cp. Plin. *H. N.* 2. 111. In 3. 55. 11, *sed volgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum aderat* means 'the people appeared, presented themselves, at this great display of gifts': *adesse ad* is a somewhat formal expression, like *adesse ad rem divinam* (Cato, *R. R.* 83); *ad exercitum* (Plaut. *Amph.* 1. 3. 6); *ad iudicium* (2 Verr. 1. 1). In 4. 7. 3 *rubor* should be translated 'fear of slight,' as is shown by the next clause, NE *aliis electis posthabitus crederetur*. In 4. 84. 11, *volgus aversari regem* means 'the people were opposed to the king,' lit. 'turned away from,' most certainly not 'dissuaded the king.' To translate 4. 86. 1, *pars obsequii in eo ne deprehenderentur*, 'it was the game of obsequiousness,' instead of simply 'obedience required,' is not happy. But, as a general rule, Mr. Spooner's translations are most excellent; the only fault is, that they are too few. Take a specimen of his translation on the same page *in altitudinem conditus*, 'he wrapped himself in a profound reserve.' If to the parallels for *altitudo* the Ciceronian βαθύτης had been added the note would have been perfect.

But something must be said on Mr. Spooner's treatment of the text. And we shall at once frankly say that, having such a MS. as the Medicean to deal with, Mr. Spooner is, in our opinion, too conservative. Thus, we think that he might have adopted, or at all events have alluded to, the emendation of Agricola in 1. 52. 10, *impetrandi* for *imperandi*; that of Bezzenberger, 3. 71. 17, *ut nitentes ac progressos depellerent*; that of Ritter, *navi vectus* (4. 24. 4) for *navibus*; the admirable emendation of Meiser in 4. 77. 3, *Pars montibus*, ALII VIA, *alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen*; the simple alteration of Rhenanus, 5. 7 fin. *litus*, SET *egerentibus*

for *l. et e.* Yet the MS. reading is excellently defended by Mr. Spooner against Heraeus in 2. 20. 5, *uxorem autem* (for Tacitus does use *autem* in narrative; cp. *Germ.* 13 init., 16 fin.); and in 2. 56. 10, *tantum peditum*; and we should wish that it had been defended in 3. 70. 22, *culpam in militem conferens cuius nimius ardor* (sc. *esset*; Meiser compares 4. 39): *imparem esse modestiam suam*. A somewhat unsatisfactory critical note is that on 4. 46. 5, on the transposition of pages in M.; it does not explain *dicebatur* (in 52. 2). Nothing better could have been done than to quote Halm's note on the passage. But Mr. Spooner's critical notes, on the whole, are adequate; and it by no means follows that they are not of a high order, because they are not the most valuable portion of his excellent work.

We conclude this review with a few alterations and explanations which have suggested themselves during the perusal of Mr. Spooner's edition. Possibly in 1. 8. 3, the reading should be *pacis artibus* APTUS, *bellis inexpertus*; *aptus* might have easily fallen out after *artibus*. Similarly, in 1. 28. 5, the addition may be *praesentia* ET TUTA *dubiis et honestis*: cp. *Ann.* 1. 2 (quoted by Mr. Spooner), *tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent*. At 1. 37. 23, for *quod perierunt*, if we do not read with Weissenborn *corripuerant* (which is slightly awkward after *rapuit*), we should suggest CORRUERUNT: cp. Plaut. *Rud.* 2. 6. 58, *ibi me conruere posse aiebas ditias*, where Mr. Sonnenschein remarks that *conruere* means to get together rapidly or easily, as distinct from *conradere*, to scrape together laboriously. The great crux in 1. 71. 9 would seem to mean 'but lest one who was really an enemy should fear any formal reconciliation, Otho made no attempt at such a proceeding, but at once summoned Celsus to his private council, and asked his advice.' We should then read

something like *sed ne hostis metueret conciliationes* AD CONSILIUM *adhibens statim inter intimos amicos habuit*; though, indeed, there is no necessity to insert *ad consilium*, as *adhibere* can be used absolutely in this sense: cp. Cic. *Fam.* 4. 7 fin., *a tuis reliquis non adhibemur*. The corruption in 1. 88. 16, *multis afflicta fides ac si turbatis rebus alacre* may, perhaps, be remedied by reading *multi afflicta fide SAUCII*, *turbatis rebus alacres*. For *saucii*, cp. Cael. ap. Cic. *Fam.* 8. 8. 3. *sic nunc neque absolutus neque damnatus Servilius de repetundis saucius Pilio tradetur*. It may be that the corruption *bellū cū In* after *expectari*, in 2. 7. 2, conceals *belli initium*, and that *victores* should begin a new sentence. The geographical difficulty in 2. 19. 1 might perhaps be got over, not by the desperate expedient of inserting a negative, but by reading ADUA (cp. 2. 40. 2) for *Padus*. Mr. Spooner says, in the note, that the soldiers had crossed the Po, and were making their way through the level fields to the north of it, though in the Introduction (p. 77) he appears to hold a different view. In this doubtful matter we think the opinion expressed in the note quite defensible. In 2. 31. 6, the usual reading, and that adopted by Mr. Spooner, is *sibi inhonestus* for *sibi inhostus* of M. But though in *Ann.* 15. 25, M. has *inhosta* for what is, undoubtedly, *inhonesta*, yet here the antithesis would be so bad that we cannot help thinking that we should read *sibi ipse hostis*. In 2. 36. 8, *et* has become transposed; it should be placed before *laeto*, and not ejected altogether, just as *ut* is out of place in M. in 2. 33. 18. For other cases of transposition, see 1. 31. 16; 2. 98. 10; 3. 41. 12 (?); 4. 13. 1. Perhaps, too, in 1. 11. 6, *Africa* has been transposed from before *interfecto*, and *ac legiones in ea* should go with the preceding sentence. Possibly in 2. 55. 2, *vita* has fallen out between *ut* and *cessisse*. We do not think that *auctor*, in 3. 2. 24, can be opposed to *suasor*, and should

take the two words as synonymous, or else alter to *rector*. In 3. 15. 8, perhaps *belli luem* conceals *belli DILUVIEM*; cp. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 228, *diluvio ex illo*, of the deluge of war; and it is very probable that for *Britannia inditus erga Vespasianum favor* (3. 44. 4) we should read *Britanniam DIDITUS*; the *m* in *Britanniam* brought about *in*, and *DItus* (= *diditus*) was mistaken for *ditus*: cp. *Ann.* 11. 1, *didita per provincias fama*; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 132, *tua terris didita fama*; Sil. 1. 186, *fama in populos didita*. For *Asiam*, in 3. 53. 14, we would read *Moesiam*, the repetition of the name of this unimportant province enhancing the ironical contrast between it and Italy. In 4. 20. 15, *ruina* simply means 'by falling': cp. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 612, *Continuo adversis Tjrrhenus et acer Aconteus Connixi incurrunt hastis primique ruina Dant sonitum ingenti*, and Lucr. 5. 1329. Probably in 4. 45. 10, *Cyrenensibus* is to be explained as an ethical dat., 'The Cyrenenses got him condemned.' We are unable to feel the same grammatical difficulty about 4. 57. 12, *Galbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse*, which Mr. Spooner feels; it is quite possible to say, by a strong metaphor, *Galba Gallis spiritus induit*: cp. Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 20, *cui cum Deianira . . . tunicam induisset*. We are not quite sure that in 5. 3. 8, *credentes* is a gloss; if we read *sed sibimet credentes duci caelesti crederent primo*, &c., 'they were not to expect any aid from God or man, but trusting in themselves, they should trust as their divine leader the first chance thing which brought them aid.' The gods they had trusted had failed them: for the future they should rely on themselves, and believe whatever helped them to be the true god. If, however, the principle is admitted, according to which *crederent* may have generated a superfluous *credentes*, we should be disposed to apply the same principle to the difficult *p̄r* in 1. 67. 1, and suppose that it has arisen from

*praedae* just before. In 5. 4. 17, for *commearent*, we suggest *commeare rentur* ; for *commeare* of the heavenly bodies cp. Cic. *N. D.* 2. 49. Possibly after *provinciae*, in 5. 9. 5, we should add *eae* or *illae*, the context showing that the pronoun refers to Syria and the adjacent provinces.

In conclusion, we offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Spooner, and hope that he may continue the studies in Tacitus which he has begun so successfully.

L. C. PURSER.

ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA.<sup>1</sup>

THIS is a treatise which will mark an epoch in the criticism of Cicero. It is as fine a piece of work as we have ever seen. By it has been again brought to light, and fully collated, the celebrated Coloniensis (= Hittorpianus = Basilicanus), which Madvig declared would, if discovered and collated, take a higher rank than the Erfurdt MS., which, in many of the speeches, has hitherto been considered as the most trustworthy guide. This Coloniensis (which is in many cases the original from which Erf. has been copied) Mr. Clark has discovered to be No. 2682 of the Harleian collection in the British Museum; and the results of his examination are to confirm Madvig's prophecy, and, at least in the *Pro Milone* and *De Imp. Cn. Pompeii*, to put before the world the collation of a MS. which is undoubtedly of the most supreme importance. The elaborate, lucid, and convincing arguments by which Mr. Clark proves the affinities of the several parts of the MS. cannot be reproduced here, as his work has reached us only at the eleventh hour. All we can do is to point out some of the most striking restorations of what Cicero wrote, which this MS. and the acuteness and learning of Mr. Clark have been the means of effecting.

Thus *Pro Milone*, § 11, it omits *modo* before *hominem*, thereby making the sentence agree with fact; § 46, it proves *cuius iam pridem . . . Romae* to be a gloss, for it

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Series*, Part VII., Collations from the Harleian MS. of Cicero, 2682. By Albert C. Clark, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1892.

omits the words, and this omission is also found in Asconius (for glosses in H. cp. § 79, where H. shows the first form of a gloss, *nempe de interitu P. Clodii*, afterwards developed into *nempe haec est quaestio de interitu P. Clodii* of the MSS. Indeed, this presentation of the early forms of glosses is quite a feature of H. : cp. liii. and xxxv. on Lig. 22). H. gives the right reading in § 54, *Quid ergo est ? Mora et tergiversatio* for *morae et tergiversationis* ; in § 68, *ante testaretur* (so Lamb. from an imperfect collation of H.) for *antestaretur*, which has always a technical sense ; and, above all, in § 74, the brilliant HARENA for *arma*, which we see to be a perfectly certain restoration, when Mr. Clark compares Suet. Calig. 53 ; Vitruv. ii. 4. We do not think that any future editor of the *Pro Milone* will read *arma*, even though the Turin Palimpsest is said to have it. Almost equally brilliant is § 79, *ut ea cernamus quae non videmus*, which is probably what Quintilian refers to ix. 2. 41, and, therefore, what Cicero wrote, though we confess to feeling that it is somewhat unusual to find *cernere* (intellectual) contrasted with *videre* (sensual) without some qualifying ablative such as *mente*. We can hardly agree with H. and Mr. Clark in § 75, *omni aditu et lumine*. Cicero always (we think) uses the plural *lumina* in that sense (e.g. Rabir. Post. 43, De Domo 115). The expression *aditu et limine* may be paralleled from Sest. 85, *aditu ac foro prohibebantur*, and the difference between *lumine* and *limine* is infinitesimal. But we agree with Mr. Clark in his conjecture, § 102, *gratia in[genti omnibus in]gentibus*. Cicero is very fond of *omnes gentes*.

In the *Pro Imp. Cn. Pompeii*, § 8, possibly the mysterious *quod* is used = *quantum*, as in *quod potero, quod ad me attinet* ; § 13, *taciti* is certainly right. It would be as irregular to read *tacite* here as to read *Invite cepi Capuam* in Att. viii. 3. 4. In the highest degree probable is Mr. Clark's suggestion to exclude in § 13, *sicut celerarum*

*provinciarum socios* as a gloss on *quoque*; and it is just possible that § 21, *ut haec intellegatis*, is an interpolation from seventeen lines previous, *ut omnes intellegant*, &c. Indeed, Mr. Clark is exceptionally sagacious in detecting glosses; cp. xli.-xliv. The omission in H. of § 33 *ibi*, and § 37, the reading *adferant* for *ferant* are certain; while in § 46 the appearance of COMMUNI *Cretensium* = τῷ κοινῷ Κρητικῶν effects (after Gulielmus) a restoration which is a real joy. In § 58 H. reads correctly *iniquitas*, on which there would appear to have been a gloss *inimicitia* (perhaps concealed in *initia* of the Schol. Gron.), and on that a further gloss, *inimicum edictum*, which is the vulg.

Other interesting restorations are *Lael.* § 41, *possumus* for *potuimus*, or *posuimus*; § 63, the omission of *amicitiis* (a certain conjecture of Mr. Clark's), and the restoration of *sint vero aliqui reperti* for the solecistic *sin vero*; § 77, *gravi*, altered by the first hand of H. from *graviter*. *Cat. Maior*, § 71 fin., *in portum . . . futurus* (al. *venturus*). Mr. Clark points out that exactly the same variants occur in Att. xv. 4. 2. In early Latin it is not unusual to find *esse in* with acc.: cf. Div. in Caecil. 66; see Kritz on Sall. 112. 3, and Professor Palmer on Plaut. *Amph.* i. 1. 26. In *Resp. in Sall.*, § 18, *dediticiorum* (for *deditorum*, vulg. *debitorum*), i.e. the class of freedmen who as slaves had been subjected to any degrading punishment, is a certain reading, and convicts (if conviction were necessary) the document of being spurious; for this class was not defined as such till the Lex Aelia Sentia, A.D. 4 (Gaius, i. 13-15). In *Cat.* iii. 10, as we are not certain that *ostendimus incidimus legimus* are not perfects (cp. the proximate *dixerunt, cognovit, conticuit*), we cannot bring ourselves to desert the vulg. *proferri iussimus* for *proferimus* of H. In *Marc.*, § 8, *victo* (for *victoriae*) *temperare*, 'to spare the conquered enemy,' i.e. Marcellus, is an almost certain reading, as it is found also

in the Ambrosian MS. The same may be said of *Lig.*, § 33, *minabantur* for *minabamur*, and § 8, *de Ligarii audeam dicere* (om. *non*): cp. Quintil. v. 10. 93. Again, in *Lig.*, § 21, H. verifies the certain correction of Orelli, *excusari*; and in § 24 gives the true reading, *non ultra* (most MSS. *non tam ne*), the Ambrosian *non<sup>u</sup>tra* showing, in a measure, how the corruption arose. In *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, § 9, H., along with the Ambrosian, confirms Lambinus's *in amicitia* for *amicitiae*; § 16, Madvig's *tectior*, and § 26, by reading *magni animi*, gets rid of *magnanimum*, which is only found once in Cicero (*Off.* i. 61).

These are only a few of the treasures to be found in Mr. Clark's storehouse of corrections, which are as novel and striking as they are brilliant and convincing. The clearness and accuracy of the collation deserve all praise. In fact, Mr. Clark's work is simply indispensable for every Ciceronian scholar.

PETERSON'S QUINTILIAN.<sup>1</sup>

THIS work, which ranks with the finest specimens of the scholarship of the day, is likely to revive the study of Quintilian in England. We regret exceedingly that it has reached us so late that we have not space to treat it in as full a manner as it deserves, for it exhibits great originality, learning, and completeness. The criticism of no author is so troublesome as that of Quintilian; but Dr. Peterson's critical notes are most excellent—conservative in the best sense, handling the monstrous corruptions of the MSS. with sound judgment and great acuteness, so different from the extravagances into which some recent German critics have occasionally run. Thus, the readings of the MSS. are justly defended at 1. 23 (retaining *quin*); 1. 59 (*adsequimur*); 1. 72 (*cum venia*); 1. 81 (*quodam*); 1. 85 (om. *ei* or *illi*); 1. 101 (*commendavit*); 1. 115 (*si quid adiecturus sibi, non si quid detracturus fuit*), and many others, among them 7. 1 (*intrare portum*), though we think it quite possible that the inf. is governed by *polliceri*, not by *convenit*, 'It is not suitable for a man of honour to promise to aid all comers if that aid is to break down when face to face with danger; to promise to enter the harbour, though the ship can only get into it during a calm'; for the comparison see Senec.

<sup>1</sup> *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber Decimus*. A revised text, with introductory essays, critical and explanatory notes, and a fac-simile of the Harleian MS. By W. Peterson,

M.A., LL.D., Principal of University College, Dundee; St. Andrew's University. Oxford; at the Clarendon Press, 1891.

Ep. 85. 31. There does not, however, seem to be any sufficient reason for departing from the MSS. in 1. 44 (*paucos, sunt enim eminentissimi*), for *enim sunt* in G. H. is a mere accidental transposition; nor in 2. 28 (*deerant*); and we miss any explanation of the strange MSS. reading in 6. 7 (*strictius utrumque*). Perhaps *si strictius*, or *si rectius utrumque quaerendum est*, 'If both be searchingly or rightly examined, more is to be got from inspiration of the moment than from imperfect memory.' We may suggest also, that possibly in 1. 28 we should read *genus orationis ostentationi comparatum* (the similarity of *orationis* and *ostentationi* having caused the omission), and then *oratio* will be understood with *adligata*.

Dr. Peterson's emendation in 7. 29, *sic dicere*, is, we think, certain; that in 3. 21, *frontem et latus*, is brilliant, and all but certain; that in 7. 32, *et in his*, very possible, as may also be said of 1. 48, *viam*; 1. 61, *spiritu*. He has admirably defended Becher's *tenuia atque quae* (1. 44), and *tradiderunt* (2. 6); Kiderlin's *clarus vi ingenii* (1. 102), and *genere ipso, probabilis in omnibus, sed in quibusdam* (1. 103); Wölfflin's *fluminum* (1. 46); Spalding's omission of *omnia* (1. 106); Gertz's *proposito* (2. 22); Herzog's *debet* (7. 20); but we wish that he had adhered to Spalding's *est et illa* (7. 25).

The Introduction and explanatory notes are most interesting and attractive reading. They show a range of learning and clearness of expression which is quite exceptional. This is especially the case with chap. iii. of the Introduction, 'On Quintilian's Literary Criticism,' and chap. v., on the MSS. Dr. Peterson has done a patriotic service in pointing out the origin and value of the Harleian MS. 2664, and has thereby added materially to the critical study of Quintilian. He finds it to be the lost Codex Dusseldorpius, and the oldest complete MS. of Quintilian in existence, copied directly from the

*Bambergensis*, possibly at the time the latter was being completed by the addition of the parts known as *Bambergensis* G., and of some at least of the readings now generally designated as **b**. It is the original from which the Florentinus and the Turicensis were copied, MSS. to which Spalding attributed such importance; in fact, it stands at the head of the whole family of *mixed* MSS. Mr. Clark, of Queen's College, Oxford, has further traced the history of this MS. to the Cathedral Library of Cologne. The establishment of these points, which is done with the greatest care and completeness, is perhaps the most valuable and instructive feature of this valuable and instructive book.

NOTAE HEBRAICAE.

I.

2 SAM. XVII. 9.

בְּאַחַת הַפְּחָתִים אוּ בְּאַחַד הַמְּקוֹמוֹת

‘In one of the pits, or in one of the places.’

Read הַמְּקוֹרוֹת, ‘in one of the wells’: for a well as a hiding place, cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 18. The plural of מְקוֹר does not occur, but according to the analogy of מְבוֹא מְקוֹם מְאוּר the form in וַת is just as possible as that in ים.

II.

2 SAM. XXIII. 18.

וְלֹא יָשָׁם בְּשִׁלְשָׁה

The point of ver. 19 is that he did *not* attain the first three.

Read וְלֹא יָשָׁם לוֹ בְּשִׁלְשָׁה

The omission of לֹא is easily accounted for by the fact that originally it was written and pronounced identically with לוֹ.

III.

PSALM LXV. 6.

יָם רְחֹקִים

‘The sea of the distant ones.’

Read יָם מְרֻחָקִים

'The sea of distances'; the abstract would be more in accordance with Hebrew idiom: cf. Is. xxxiii. 17. The initial מ of מְרַחֵקִים would easily be omitted after the final ם of יָם.

## IV.

Ps. lxi. 3. Perhaps we should point תַּנְחִינִי High. of נִיחַ, 'Cause me to rest upon.' This agrees better with the prep. בְּ.

## V.

## ISAIAH XV. 5.

לְבִי לְמוֹאָב יִזְעַק בְּרִיחָהּ עַד־צָעַר עֲגֹלַת שְׁלִשִּׁיָּהּ

There is a difficulty here in the word בְּרִיחָהּ. Elsewhere בְּרִיחַ means 'a bar,' and so Jerome renders it here *vectes*. The R. V. takes it in the sense of bars = 'nobles.' 'My heart crieth out for Moab; her nobles *flee* unto Zoar, to Eglath Shelishiyah,' where it may be noted that they supply the very important word 'flee' not found in the Hebrew. Delitzsch renders, 'My heart towards Moab it cries out, its fugitives even to Zoar, the three-year-old heifer,' which seems little better than absurd. The beginning of ver. 4, וְתִזְעַק הַשְּׁבוּן, and the latter clause of ver. 5, נִשְׁכַּר יְעַעְרוּ, or, as perhaps should be read יִרְעָעוּ, show that יִזְעַק does not go with לְבִי, but is used of the cries of Moab. For בְּרִיחָהּ the LXX gives us ἐν αὐτῇ, evidently reading בְּקִרְבָּהּ, and showing that they found a ק in the word in the MS. before them. Prof. Cheyne suggests that they read the name of some town unknown. The question is, what town? Now, on the Moabite inscription of Mesha' we find the names of seven towns which are

directly mentioned in Is. xv., 'the burden of Moab.' On that inscription we also find the name of a town, קרחה, the pointing of which is uncertain.

Read then here יִזְעַק בְּקִרְחָה, and translate the whole passage thus:—

'My heart is towards Moab, a cry ariseth in קרחה reaching even to Zoar (the cry) as of a heifer three years old.' This does not strain the meaning of עַד so much as the rendering of the R. V. gives a good sense, accounts for the Massoretic and LXX texts, and keeps up the parallelism with ver. 4:

וְהִזְעַק חֲשָׁבוֹן וְאַלְעֵלָה עַד יִהְיֶה גִשְׁמֵעַ קוֹלָם

For this use of עַד compare the parallel passage, Jer. xlviii. 34, מִזְעָקָת חֲשָׁבוֹן עַד אֶלְעֵלָה, where read מִזְעָקָת (part.); and for the sense compare Jer. xlviii. 4, הִשְׁמַע עוֹ זַעְקָה לְעֵרָה (LXX).

## VI.

JER. VIII. 13.

וְאֶתֵּן לָהֶם יַעֲבָדִים

The R. V. renders: 'And the things which I have given them shall pass away from them.' Marg., 'And I have appointed them that shall pass over them'; so also Payne-Smith, and similarly Hitzig. Ewald renders: 'And I gave unto them what they transgress.' The rendering of the R. V. would seem rather to require יַעֲבָדוּ מֵהֶם. The allusion is to the approaching invasion and subjugation of Jerusalem. Read וְאֶעֱבְדֵם, 'And I do appoint unto them those whom they shall serve.' The suffix in יַעֲבָדוּ refers not to Jews but to their conquerors.

J. T. S. STOPFORD.

BYWATER'S ARISTOTLE'S ETHICS.<sup>1</sup>

IN the modest Preface prefixed to his edition of *Aristotle's Ethics*, Mr. Bywater professes that his object was to publish a recension of Bekker's text, differing from the latter only in its closer adherence to the Laurentian MS. Mr. Bywater holds that K<sup>b</sup> possesses all the merits of a MS. of the highest order; though its errors, due to the omission of *homoeoteleuta, et cetera quae oscitantium scriptorum sunt*, are many, its pages are not marred by the perverse ingenuity of the emender. Mr. Bywater has also issued a most valuable supplement to his text in his *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of Aristotle's Nicom. Ethics*; a book quite indispensable to the possessors of his larger work, as it contains an account of the principles that guided him in his constitution of the Text. The latter work is divided into two parts—I. The chief sources of the text. II. Notes and emendations on the text.

The recent publication of Heylbut's edition of the *Commentary of Aspasius* has enabled Mr. Bywater to throw considerable light on some of the cruxes in the *Ethics*. Aspasius's text, however, must not be slavishly followed. Mr. Bywater demonstrates that, valuable as that text is at times, as a guide to the emender, it must be employed

<sup>1</sup> Aristotelis *Ethica Nicomachea* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit I. Bywater, Collegii Exoniensis Socius, Oxonii. E typographeo Clarendoniano, MDCCCXC.

*Contributions to the Textual Criticism of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, by Ingram Bywater, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1892.

with caution, as, in many places, it has been assimilated to late and inferior MSS. In fact, the best evidence for the recovery of his text is to be found in his explanations. The restorations in Mr. Bywater's text, which are due to Aspasius, are very numerous, but the following may be instanced as being the most important:—

1102<sup>b</sup> 3 πλὴν εἰ μή; 1106<sup>b</sup> 36 ὠρισμένη λόγῳ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὀρίσειεν; 1111<sup>a</sup> 13 ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πίσας<sup>1</sup> ἀποκτείναι ἄν' καὶ θίξαι βουλόμενος . . . πατάξειεν ἄν; 1118<sup>b</sup> 10 τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης; 1122<sup>a</sup> 7 Omit καὶ ὁ ληστής; 1124<sup>b</sup> 12 μνημονεύειν οὗ ἂν ποιήσωσιν εὔ.

In the chapter on Bekker's six MSS., Mr. Bywater, joining issue with most Aristotelian scholars, vehemently impugns the credit of O<sup>b</sup> M<sup>b</sup>, on the ground that they are 'products of contamination.' In spite of the support that M<sup>b</sup> has received from Susemihl and others, Mr. Bywater believes that this MS. is the least valuable of all the late MSS. of Aristotle. Of course the last word has not yet been said in this controversy, but Mr. Bywater's list of the deviations of M<sup>b</sup> from all the best MSS. is a long one, and in innumerable passages the text of this MS. seems to have been arbitrarily emended.

Mr. Bywater's classification of the chief errors in K<sup>b</sup> and L<sup>b</sup> will be of the greatest service to all students of the text of Aristotle. His remarks fairly demonstrate that the Laurentian MS., though in many places presenting a more corrupt text than later MSS., affords a surer ground to work upon, as it preserves these errors 'with little or no attempts at disguise or sophistication.'

Mr. Bywater's edition is confessedly conservative; emendations are admitted to the text *non nisi necessitate quadam*. His own restorations amount to some seventy

<sup>1</sup> Aspasius's Commentary proves that he endeavoured to combine two readings, viz. ὡς ὁ φάρμακον δοὺς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, ἀγνοήσας ὅτι θανάσιμον ἦν' καὶ ἐπὶ

σωτηρίᾳ μὲν ἔπαισε τὸν ἐξεστηκότα ἑαυτοῦ ἵνα ἀνανήψῃ ἔλαθε δ' ἀποκτείνας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παίσας.

or eighty, many of which are printed in the text as being certain. Though in most cases the changes, at first sight, seem to be unimportant, it will be found that the gain to the general sense is great. We confess that, after careful consideration of the reasons given in the *Supplement*, we believe that there is hardly one of them that is not quite convincing. We have noted the following as having been thought worthy of being printed in the text:—

1104<sup>a</sup> 25 φθείρεται δὴ σωφροσύνη; 1107<sup>b</sup> 11 ἐναντίως δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι; id. 32 ἔστι μὲν ὅτι; 1115<sup>b</sup> 30 ὥς γοῦν ἐκείνος; 1117<sup>a</sup> 20 ἀπὸ ἕξεως γὰρ μᾶλλον ἦν; 1123<sup>a</sup> 24 ὥσπερ οἱ Μεγαροῖ; 1124<sup>b</sup> 28 τὰ μὲν ἡδέως ἀκούειν; 1125<sup>b</sup> 15 οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φέρομεν ἀεὶ τὸ φιλότιμον; 1130<sup>a</sup> 22 ἔστιν ἄρ' ἄλλη τις ἀδικία; 1186<sup>a</sup> 23 ἔπειτα καὶ τόδε διαπορήσειεν ἂν τις; 1140<sup>b</sup> 15 δύο ὁρθὰς ἔχει; 1141<sup>a</sup> 25 τὰ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸ ἕκαστα; 1144<sup>a</sup> 26 καὶ τυγχάνει αὐτοῦ; 1145<sup>a</sup> 20 περὶ τοῦ Ἑκτορος; 1146<sup>a</sup> 27 συμβαίνει δὴ; 1146<sup>b</sup> 15 τῷ ὥς ἔχοντες τὴν διαφόραν; 1148<sup>b</sup> 33 ὅσοι νοσηματωδῶς ἔχουσι; 1155<sup>b</sup> 29 οὐδὲ βούλησις ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθοῦ; 1167<sup>b</sup> 29 οὐδ' ὁμοιον τὸ περὶ τοὺς δανείσαντας; 1168<sup>b</sup> 11 ἀπορεῖται δὴ; 1170<sup>a</sup> 31 ὥστε ἂν αἰσθανώμεθα καὶ νοῶμεν. On the whole, Mr. Bywater may be congratulated upon having produced a text that steers successfully a *via media* between the audacity of Susemihl and the conservatism of Bekker. Though he has not attempted to heal the dislocations of the text, which are so annoying to the philosophic reader, his edition will long hold its place as being eminently suited to the requirements of students at the Universities. Mr. Bywater himself has not professed to do more than this, and, within this limited sphere, he has shown rare critical acumen and judgment.

W. J. M. STARKIE.

FURNEAUX'S TACITUS.<sup>1</sup>

MR. FURNEAUX is to be congratulated on the completion of his great edition of the *Annals of Tacitus*. Admirable as the first volume was, it will be generally acknowledged that the present volume attains to a higher level of scholarship. The period covered is 'considerably longer, and is more fruitful in important events'; and has attracted more notice from historians and scholars than the earlier books. Out of the enormous literature on the subject, Mr. Furneaux has extracted almost everything that is of permanent value, and the result is, that his work may fairly be called the most complete and scholarly edition of Tacitus that has ever issued from any Press. In sobriety of judgment, it compares favourably with the works of Draeger and Nipperdy, and supersedes even Orelli's monumental work. Nothing seems to be omitted in the notes that can throw any light on Tacitus's Latinity, as well as on the many points of interest, archæological and historical, connected with the text.

The Introduction is divided into five chapters—I. On the text and the second Medicean MS. II. Summary of events between the end of Bk. vi. and the beginning of Bk. xi. III. Life of Gaius Claudius and Nero. IV. Parthia and Armenia. V. Conquest of Britain. In the compilation of Chap. III., Mr. Furneaux has made admirable

<sup>1</sup> The *Annals of Tacitus*, edited with Introduction and Notes, by Henry Furneaux, M.A., formerly Fellow and


Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Vol. II., Books xi.-xvi. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, MDCCCXCI.

use of the elaborate works of Lehmann and Schiller. His sketches of the lives of Claudius and Nero are a very brilliant piece of historical writing, exhibiting considerable grace of style combined with a sobriety of judgment that is thoroughly English. The chapter on Armenia throws a flood of light on the vague and unsatisfactory account of the campaigns of Corbulo by this 'most unmilitary of all historians,' as Mommsen calls Tacitus. Although Corbulo's narrative had introduced a new era in Roman knowledge of the East, this great advance seems to have left no impression on Tacitus's work. However, Mr. Furneaux has given us an excellent map, based on Kiepert's labours, and several pages of Prolegomena, which leave hardly any obscurity remaining in this account of the most obscure of all campaigns. Mr. Furneaux, joining issue with Egli and Mommsen, urges strong reasons in favour of the view that the campaign commenced in the winter of 52 A.D., with the occupation of the table-land of Erzeroum, and the capture of Artaxata. In 59 Corbulo seems to have marched round the foot of the Little Ararat to the plain of Bayazid, and from there by the foot of Ala Dagħ to the plain of Mush (Tauraunitium), and so he reached Tigranocerta. Mr. Furneaux makes some excellent remarks on the treachery of Corbulo to his colleague Paetus. Tacitus, who elsewhere has followed closely the lines of Corbulo's own work, here charges him, by implication, in attributing his inaction 'to the desire to win the glory of appearing as a deliverer in the last extremity.' Probably the most interesting part of the Introduction is the chapter on the history of Britain from 55 B.C. to the time of Claudius. It is true that little that is new has been added to this thrice-told tale; still Mr. Haverfield's labours have succeeded in finally clearing up a few moot points.

Mr. Furneaux, differing in this respect from Mommsen,

is inclined to attribute the expedition of Claudius to personal vanity and to the cupidity of Narcissus, rather than to any feeling that the Conquest of Britain was necessary to the security of Gaul. For, as he pertinently remarks, 'the island Celts had not been a source of disquiet for many years.' Mr. Furneaux agrees with Mommsen in believing that the Romans landed somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Lymne*, and marched upon Colchester. He urges unanswerable objections against the views of Hübner (though supported by the plausible derivation of *Clausentum*—Bittern—from *Claudius*), Spurrell, and Guest, who were led astray by the supposed identity of the *Boduni* with the *Dobuni* (Mr. Furneaux himself proposes that this unknown tribe may have been identical with the *Regni* of Sussex, the name having been strangely corrupted), and the no less extravagant views of Airy, who maintains that the landing was on the west coast. Inscriptions have not added much to our knowledge of this obscure campaign, but Mr. Furneaux quotes some instructive remarks of Mr. Haverfield. Three Appendices of considerable length add greatly to the value of this edition. Mr. Furneaux gives the complete text of Claudius's speech, which has been preserved in the bronze tables dug up at Lyons, with a full commentary. It is interesting to compare the original with Claudius's words as reported by Tacitus. It seems that by *inversio*, Tacitus understood a liberty 'to arrange as well as condense,' and that his obligation to fidelity did not deter him from completely altering the style, and even the matter of historical documents.

Appendix II. deals with the Neronian persecutions of the Christians. The interest taken by writers in the famous 44th chapter of the fifteenth Book seems not to diminish. Even during the last five years fresh theories have been suggested to account for the acerbity of Tacitus's



remarks on the Christians. P. Hochard's seems to be the latest. He holds that the words are a Christian forgery! This theory is hardly worth refuting, for the manner and style are thoroughly Tacitean. The powers of such forgers can be estimated from the spurious correspondence of St. Paul and Seneca. Sulpicius Severus quotes Tacitus's words, and the passage must stand or fall with Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, and the well-known passages in Suetonius's *Nero*. Mr. Furneaux accepts Bishop Lightfoot's theory to explain how the Christians, at this time a comparatively insignificant sect, could have excited the animosity of the Roman mob. It is probable that the Jews, who were first suspected, shifted the charge upon the Christians by the help of Poppaea. The only difficulty in the way of this view is to be found in the words, *ingens multitudo convicti sunt*. Mr. Furneaux plausibly suggests that this is a rhetorical expression for *πολὴ πλῆθος* of the 1st Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

The text of this volume is based on that of Halm, but Mr. Furneaux exercises his own judgment, and frequently supports the reading of the *Medicean* against the latest editors. His defence of *in Decangos* (xii. 32, *inde Cangos*, *Med.*) against Halm's *in Ceangos* seems to be entirely successful. xiv. 7, he gives *nisi quid Burrus et Seneca: quos expergens*, &c. (*expergens quos*, *Med.*). xiv. 6, he defends the reading of *Med: in principis laudes repetitum venerantium*; *laudes* being taken with a double genitive (subj. and obj.). This seems to be very forced. Probably the best emendation is J. H. Müller's *repetita veneratione*. In his note on xv. 63, *adversus praesentem fortitudinem mollitus*, Mr. Furneaux has missed the true parallel, which is not vi. 16, 1, but Hist. ii. 12, *adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus*.

W. J. M. STARKIE.

## ON A GREEK BIBLICAL FRAGMENT.

THE volume marked D. 1. 28 contains, among other Greek fragments, a portion of a cursive MS. of the Epistle to the Romans, on paper, of perhaps the fourteenth century. It consists of eight leaves, measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , commencing with *ἐαυτοῖς*, chap. viii. 23, and ending with *κρι[νεις]*, chap. xiv. 10. In some places where the writing was faded it has been inked over by a later hand, who also added a few glosses. This hand is not older than the sixteenth century; and the fragment, when in his possession, was no longer than at present, as is clear from a flourish added by him at the top of the first page, and a marginal addition at the end (for which see the collation).

The lections are marked in red, the title *πρὸς Ῥωμαίους* and the words with which the reader would begin being given in the margin, and the marginal titles of the lections, or *κεφάλαια*, are also in red, as well as the initials of the paragraphs. The following particulars deserve mention:—

Proper names have a dash over them (slightly curved) as *φάρᾱω*, so also *σαβᾱωθ*. *Μῆ*, when interrogative, has a double accent *μῆ̂*. This double accent is used in a few other instances, as over *μῆ̂ν*, *δῆ̂* in ix. 21, and *ἐπῆ̂* in xi. 6 (*bis*) and 22.

Final *σ* is the small uncial *c*. There is no iota subscript. *ι* has sometimes two dots, sometimes not.

There are two stops, the simple point and the comma. The latter occurs frequently where we should not expect a stop. I have given some instances.

I proceed to give a collation of the MS. with Scrivener's text.

## COLLATION.—ROMANS.

- viii. 23. MS. begins *ἐαυτοῖς*.  
 23. ἀπεκδεχόμενοι. The second hand has made an *ς* of the final *ι*.  
 26. καθ' ὃ.  
 26. ὑπερεντυγχάνει, glossed *πρεσβέβει*.  
 28. κατὰ πρόθεσιν, glossed *κατὰ οἰκίαν προαίρεσιν*.  
 32. χαρίζεται—χαρήσεται.  
 34. ὑπὲρ—πὲρ.  
 34. χωρίσει—χωρήσει.  
 36. ἕνεκα—ἕνεκεν.  
 37. Comma after *πᾶσιν*.  
 38. After *ἡμᾶς* add *χῦ*.  
 38. Comma after *γάρ*.  
 39. δυνήσεται—δυνήσεται.  
 ix. 3. ηὐχόμεν—εὐχόμεν.  
 5. A stop after *σάρκα* and after *θεός*.  
 6. After *δέ* a comma. A lection begins with this verse.  
 8. Om. *τοῦ* before *Θεοῦ*.  
 11. μένη—μένει.  
 12. ἐλάττονι.  
 14. Μωσῇ—Μωϋσῇ.  
 17. ἐνδείξωμαι—ἐνδείξομαι.  
 18. A lection begins *ἀδελφοὶ* (*sic*), *ὃν θέλει ὁ θεὸς ἐλεεῖ*.  
 23. προητοίμασεν—προητήμασεν.  
 26. ἐρρήθη—ἐρρέθη.  
 29. ἐγκατέλειπεν—ἐγκατέλειπεν.  
 30 Omits third *δικαιοσύνην*.  
 x. 2. The first hand omits from *Θεοῦ* to *ἐπίγνωσιν*. This error of omission is worth remarking as not accounted for by homœoteleuton.  
 5. Μωσῆς—Μωϋσῆς. So in 19.  
 16. τῇ—τί.  
 19. ἔθνη—ἔθνη.  
 xi. 1. Comma after *ἐγώ*.  
 4. Comma after *ἔκαμψαν*.

6. Comma after ἡ and after χάρις.
6. Om. γίνεται χάρις, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων, οὐκ ἔτι. A later hand attempts to supply the omitted words in the margin, but erroneously, namely, adding εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶν (ἔργον erased, then) χάρις after ἐστὶ χάρις, which would leave ἐστὶ for γίνεται.
8. ἐπωρώθησαν—ἐπερώθησαν.
8. ἔδωκεν—ἔδοκεν.
10. σύγκαμψον—σύγκαψον.
19. ἐγκεντρισθῶ—ἐκκεντρισθῶ.
20. No stop after καλῶς.
21. φείσεται—φείσεται.
25. After ἀδελφοί adds μου.
26. οὕτω—οὕτως. So in 31.
32. Comma after Θεός.
- xii. 3. After χάριτος adds τοῦ θυ.
5. καθ εἰς.
16. Om. τὰ before ὑψηλά.
17. μὴδ' ἐνὶ.
- xiii. 1. Om. ἀπὸ Θεοῦ αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἔξουσiai.
3. ἔξεις—ἔξης.
4. ποιῇς—ποιεῖς.
4. ἐστιν, ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν—ἐστιν εἰς ὀργὴν. ἔκδικος.
4. Comma after τῷ. So in 7 four times.
10. Comma after νόμον.
- xiv. 2. Comma after πιστεύει.
4. Comma after Θεός.
6. After φρονεῖ adds καί.
6. Comma after second κῶ (= Κυρίῳ).
8. ἀποθνήσκωμεν—ἀποθνήσκομεν.
9. Om. καὶ after Χριστὸς.
9. ἀνέζησεν—ἔζησεν.

The fragment ends with σὺν, δὲ τί κρὶ, ver. 10. The later hand adds in the margin νεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, showing that the fragment ended here when in his possession.

T. K. ABBOTT.

## EMENDATIONS AND NOTES ON HERONDAS.

THE year 1891 will be henceforth noted in classical literature as the date of the most remarkable recovery of a missing author made in modern times. A year or two before a papyrus, found, we presume, in some Egyptian tomb, and containing seven Mimes of Herondas nearly entire, came into the possession of the British Museum. The task of deciphering and editing the MS. was committed to Mr. F. G. Kenyon, assistant-librarian. He executed his task with a fidelity, ability, and modesty which have won universal praise, and last August this unexpected treasure was given to the world. The best thanks of scholars are also due to the Museum for the beautifully-executed fac-simile of the papyrus, which has been produced under the care of Mr. Edward Scott, Keeper of MSS.

The fate of Herondas is unique in literature. From the internal evidence supplied by the Mimes we gather the following conclusions. He flourished in the latter part of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the beginning of the reign of Euergetes, and was either by birth a native of, or had a close connexion with, the island of Cos. Inspired by the success of the Idylls of Theocritus, the court poet of the earlier part of the reign of Philadelphus, Herondas determined to imitate him. Like Theocritus, he went out of Egypt, and imported from his own country a new or nearly new branch of composition. Theocritus had charmed the Egyptians with the Idyll; Herondas diverted them with the Mime. In fixing the scene of the

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Mimes in Cos he had a strong reason other than his own connexion with that island, for it was there that Philadelphus himself was born.

In placing the date of Herondas about 300–240, we are mainly guided by the following facts:—He lived, we can see, when Apelles still had detractors, on whom Herondas bestows a hearty curse (4. 76). This is owing to patriotic feeling. For although he settles for ever the disputed question of Apelles' birthplace in favour of Ephesus,<sup>1</sup> yet there is no doubt that Apelles had a long and close connexion with Cos. Pliny calls him Apelles the Coan. Now, detraction does not live long after death, and as Apelles, the greatest painter since the world began, the greatest that the world will ever produce, according to Pliny,<sup>2</sup> must have died about the year 290, Herondas probably wrote these lines not much later than that time. All other indications of date agree. For instance, the allusion to the temple of Philadelphus and his sister-wife, erected about 270,<sup>3</sup> and the allusion to the sons of Praxiteles as statuaries (4. 23). Praxiteles died about 320, and his sons, Timarchus and Cephisodotus, would be in their prime about 300; and Herondas in his youth probably often saw the group of statuary described in the 4th Mime, and was told it was by the sons of the great Praxiteles. The imitations of Theocritus show that he was junior to the Sicilian poet.

Herondas then died about 240 B.C., and for more than three centuries his name is not mentioned. At last Pliny the younger, writing to compliment a friend on his Greek epigrams and iambics, says they were as good as anything

<sup>1</sup> 4. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, 35. 79, 'Verum et omnes prius genitos futurosque postea superavit Apelles Cous.'

<sup>3</sup> I. 30, θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος δ βασιλεὺς χρηστός. The last words of this line may refer to Philadelphus just as fitly as to Euergetes.

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Callimachus or Herondas had produced.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards we have a few mentions and citations from him in Athenaeus, Zenobius, and Stobaeus, and that is all until the *editio princeps* in 1891.

Following Mr. Kenyon's recension, there have appeared in rapid succession the editions of Dr. Rutherford, van Herwerden, and Bücheler, and much valuable work has been done by English scholars in papers in the *Academy*, *Classical Review*, and elsewhere. Messrs. Headlam, Hicks, Jackson, Hardie, Ellis, Nicholson, and others have all made considerable contributions to the constitution of the text.

Of the editions, Dr. Rutherford's contained some remarkably brilliant emendations, which were commensurate with his reputation, but there was also much that fell very far below it. Herwerden's edition, published at the beginning of this year, is in some respects an advance; but he, like Rutherford, often deviates unnecessarily and too far from the papyrus. Bücheler's (March, 1892), though marred by half-a-dozen unjustifiable metrical licenses, is far the closest approximation to what Herondas actually wrote. It is, however, a pity Bücheler did not take the trouble of ascribing the readings he introduces to their authors. He writes: 'Credant vel licet vel oportet, quibus in hoc aliquid libello placebit, si quid placebit, multorum id opera effectum esse communi.' Accordingly, the best emendations of Rutherford, Diels, Headlam, Hicks, and others are tacitly introduced, and the result is, that a critic does not know what to praise, what to condemn, as Bücheler's own. I hope this example will not be imitated by future editors. The principle that priority

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 4. 3, 'Ita certe sum affectus ipse cum Graeca epigrammata tua, cum iambos proxime legerem. Quantum ibi humanitatis, venustatis!

quam dulcia illa, quam antiqua, quam arguta, quam recta! Callimachum me vel Herodem, vel si quid melius, tenere credebam!'

of publication gives a right of property to an emendation should never be wilfully violated; while the record of a critic's discoveries is his one reward and encouragement. I had hoped to have edited the Mimes myself, but am unfortunately obliged by other cares to postpone the task for some months, and by that time the edition of Mr. Headlam will probably have appeared, an edition which, it may be predicted, will leave little to be added to the criticism and exegesis of these seven hundred lines, probably not enough to justify a separate new edition. At all events, for the present I must content myself with a few annotations.

The emendations which follow have for the most part appeared in the *Academy*. I publish them again, because, first, I wish to separate them from others which I published in haste, and of which I repent at leisure; secondly, because I am often able to defend them at greater length than I could in the *Academy*; and thirdly, because a large number of them have been since published without acknowledgment in the editions of van Herwerden and Bücheler. I do not wilfully claim as mine any emendation which belongs to another, and shall be very willing to resign any which I may unfairly claim as mine to their proper owner; in order to facilitate whose just *vindiciae* I add the date at which I published them.

I. 6.

ἀγγειλον ἔνδον Μητρίχη παρούσαν με.

I have two objections to this reading—first, Gyllis has no right to assume that Metriche is at home; secondly, ἔνδον ἀγγέλλειν is, if I mistake not, bad Greek for εἶσω ἀγγέλλειν, just as much as ‘nuntia intus’ would be bad Latin for ‘nuntia intro,’ ‘bring word in.’ I can find no instance of ἔνδον used for εἶσω before Babrius, who has

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παρῆγεν ἔνδον. But a Babrian usage is of no authority by itself. Both objections may be got rid of at once by reading :

ἄγγελον, εἰ ἔνδον, Μητρίχῃ παροῦσάν με.

ἔνδον is, of course, the regular word used when it is asked whether a person is at home. Ar., *Ach.* 395, ἔνδον ἔστ' Εὐριπίδης; Eur., *Iph. Taur.* 1303, εἴτ' ἔνδον, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον ἀρχηγὸς χθονός; Plat., *Alc.* 2. 143, εἰπεῖν εἰ ἔνδον ἐστί; Theocr. 15. 1, ἐνδοῖ Πραξινοῖα;—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, 1892).

I. 19.

σὺλλαينه ταῦτα· τῆς νεωτέρης ὑμῖν  
πρόσεστιν—ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο, μή σε θερμήνῃ.

So I print these words with an aposiopesis after πρόσ-  
εστιν. 'You younger women have' ('a malicious devil in  
you,' or something of that sort, she was going to add);  
'but I won't say this, for fear it may put you in a passion.'  
There is a fairly close parallel in Lucian, *Deor. Dial.* 3:  
ἡδίων ἐμοὶ καὶ ποθεινότερος—οὐ βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν μή σε  
παροξύνω ἐπὶ πλέον.

I. 53.

ἄνδρας δὲ Πίσση δις καθεῖλε πυκτεύσας.

This certain and brilliant emendation, made by Mr.  
Hardie (*Academy*, October 17, 1891), and Professor Tucker  
(*Academy*, January 16, 1892) for ἄνδρας δ' ἐπ' ἴσον) was also  
suggested to me early in last October by Mr. L. C. Purser.  
It is satisfactory to know that it is consistent with the  
papyrus. This emendation is ignored by Herwerden, and  
Bücheler does not say one word about its author, merely  
remarking 'πίσση pellucet in P,' which is too much to say.  
It is, no doubt, the reading of the papyrus, but, unless it

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had been discovered by conjecture, it would have remained long undeciphered. The first syllable of Πισα is short in Pindar, but long in Theocritus and elsewhere. Lucian's epigram (21) on a pugilist who was severely punished in his contests for the wreath is worth quoting:

ἔσχον δ' ἐν Πίσῃ μὲν ἐν ὤτιον, ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς  
ἐν βλέφαρον· Πυθοῖ δ' ἄπνοος ἐκφέρομαι.

I. 56.

ιδῶν σε καθόδῳ τῆς Μίσσης ἐκύμηνε  
τὰ σπλάγχχ' ἔρωτι καρδίην ἀνοιστρηθείς.

In the first verse I would write καθόδῳ τῇ 'ς Μίσσης, without change, except the addition of the iotas subscript, which are not in P., the first of which must be added in any case, 'in the descent to Misa's temple.' The expression is like 'ad Vestae,' ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, &c. Misa was a mystic being of the Orphic ritual, the female side of the androgynous Iacchus. Hymn. Orph. 42:

ἀγνὴν ἀνιέρων τε Μίσσην, ἄρρητον ἀνασσαν,  
ἄρρενα καὶ θῆλυν, διφυῆ, λύσειον Ἰακχον.

I should conjecture that the shrine of this mysterious divinity was underground, and that καθόδῳ is to be taken literally as 'descent.' We may compare the descent of the virgins to the cave of the serpent in Propertius (4. 8. 5):

Qua sacer abripitur caeco *descensus* hiatu.

—(*Academy*, January 16, 1892).

I. 64.

καὶ οἱα πρηξείς ηδ . . . . .

So Mr. Kenyon gives from the papyrus, noting that οἱα is corrected from δἱα. Now, I firmly believe that Dr.  
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Rutherford's emendation of vs. 55 is right as far as ἦν σφρηγίς goes, and I have no doubt that Gyllis has a letter from Gryllus in her hand which she wants Metriche to read. In the fac-simile of the papyrus ε is perfectly plain after ηδ, and then there is a long stroke, which can only be the bottom of a Δ; the rest is illegible. I write :

κάλ' οἶα πρήξεις ἦδε δέλτος ἐκφαίνει,

'this letter will tell you what good fortune will be yours. Not knowing of the delta stroke, I published in the *Academy* of Oct. 24 and Nov. 7, 1891,

κάλ' οἶα πρήξεις ἦδ' ἐπιστολὴν λέξει.

1. 69.

ταῦτ' ἔγωγ' ἄλλης  
 γυναικὸς οὐκ ἂν ἡδέως ἐπήκουσα  
 χολὴν δ' αἰεῖν χῶλον ἐξεπαίδευσσα  
 καὶ τῆς θύρης τὸν οὐδὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι.

I write in the second verse,

χολὴν δ' αἰεῖν κῶλον ἐξεπαίδευσ' ἂν,

'but I would have taught a lame woman how to step it, and to consider the threshold of my door her enemy,' *i.e.* 'I would have taught any other temptress a lesson which she would not easily forget.' I have seen no adequate defence of αἰεῖν χολόν. For αἰεῖν κῶλον compare Eur., *Herc. Fur.* 819, φυγῇ νωθὲς πέδαιρε κῶλον, and such phrases as αἶρειν βῆμα. I have the satisfaction of having this emendation confirmed by the fact that Professor Tucker published practically the same emendation (αἰεῖν κῶλ' ἂν ἐξεπαίδευσσα) the same day as I did.—(*Academy*, January 16, 1892).

1. 80.

τὴν μελαινίδ' ἔκτριψον  
 χήκτημόρους τρεῖς ἐγγέα[σα τ]οῦ ἀκρήτου  
 καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπιστάξασα δὸς πιεῖν.

It is satisfactory to know that χήκτημόρους, the conjecture of Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Hicks, is consistent with the relics of the letters in the papyrus, though it would have long remained unread had it not been conjectured, and I record an emphatic protest against the names of the discoverers being omitted. Mr. Headlam (*Academy*, January 23, 1892) read in the papyrus ἐγγέα; and Mr. Mahaffy, going over the line in the fac-simile, agrees with him. Mr. Headlam says that after the α nothing is visible (before ἀκρήτου), and writes ἐγγέα[σα μοι] ἀκρήτου. I can distinctly read ου in the fac-simile, and write :

ἐγγέα[σα τ]οῦ ἀκρήτου

'Fill them with *the unmixed wine*.' I think the article is good.

2. 3.

οὐδ' εἰ θαλῆς μὲν οὗτος ἀξίην τὴν νηῦν  
 ἔχει ταλάντων πέντ' ἐγὼ δ' ἐμ[οῦ]ς ἄρτους,

What sense has ἔχω ἐμοῦς ἄρτους, 'I have my loaves'? It may be doubted whether there is room for two letters in the gap. I propose to add to the many proverbs in Herondas one more, and to read ἐγὼ δὲ μῦς ἄρτους (scil. τρώγω), 'I am like a mouse nibbling loaves,' i.e. living from hand to mouth.—(*Academy*, November 7, 1891).

2. 10.

The end of this line seems to have run

ἔλκει προστάτην [ἐμὸν] Μέννην.

The last stroke of the N in ἐμὸν is legible. Mennes was,

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I suppose, the name of the προστάτης of Battarus. The name Μέννης, gen. Μεννέω, occurs Nic. Dam. *Fr.* 53 (Pape-Benseler).—(*Academy*, January 16, 1892).

### 2. 12.

This verse in the papyrus ends thus, κ . . . νυναγχι. Setting this beside the mention of the fistic exploits of Thales in the previous verse, it seems likely that Battarus is describing the athletic powers of Thales, and I read κἄν ὕν ἄγχοι : 'he is strong enough to throttle a boar.' Cf. Arist. *Lys.* 81, . . . κἄν ταῦρον ἄγχοις.—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, 1892).

### 2. 27.

οἶχεθ' ἡμῖν ἢ ἀλεωρῇ  
τῆς πόλιος, ἄνδρες, κἀφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνεσθε  
τὴν αὐτονομίην ὑμέων θαλῆς λύσει.

The first principle of the dialect of Herondas is this : while he uses the open form, he invariably employs the contract pronunciation. There is absolutely nothing in the mimes which will justify ὑμέων pronounced as a cretic save this solitary passage. Some may quote Πυθέω, 1. 76. But that is not a parallel case, for there is no contract form Πυθῶ : and if the nominative of that word is Πυθέης, its genitive should be Πυθείω, a form used by Herodotus, and, perhaps, to be restored to Herondas. The nominative of Πυθέω is Πύθης. Disregarding this and looking at the cases of ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς only, we find ἡμέων six times dissyllabic, ἡμέας once dissyllabic ; ὑμέων once dissyllabic ; ὑμέας twice dissyllabic ; not to count the times when they are written, as well as pronounced dissyllables : and *never* trisyllabic. We must, therefore, correct

τὴν αὐτονομίην λυμεὼν θαλῆς λύσει.

'A ruffian like Thales will destroy your independence.'

For λυμεὼν, a spoiler and ravisher, which is just what

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Thales was, cf. Isocr., 187 B, σωτῆρας ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνας τῶν Ελλήνων. It is applied to highway robbers by Euripides, *Archel. Fr.*, 260, ἔπανσ' ὁδοιποροῦς λυμεῶνας. For its sense of ravisher, corrupter of women, cf. Eur. *Hērph.*, 1068; λυμεῶνας γυναικῶν; Soph. *Aj.*, 573, ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός.—(*Academy*, Dec. 19, 1891).

2. 71.

ὦ γῆρας

σοὶ θνέτω ἐπεὶ τοί μ' ἄν ἐξεφύσησεν

ὥσπερ Φίλιππον ἐν Σάμῳ κοτ' ὁ Βρέγκος.

So I write these lines. τοί μ' ἄν is a probable<sup>5</sup> correction of Mr. Hicks (*Classical Review*, October, 1892), which also occurred to myself for τουμαν of the papyrus. Whether we read Φίλιππον, Φιλῖνον, or Φιλιστον, I do not much care; but, in any case, it should be the accusative. The meaning is: 'old age, let him thank you; otherwise he would have blown me out with rage, as Brenchus once did Philippus in Samos.' 'Lenit albescens animos capillus,' with pandars as well as poets. Βρέγκος, I suppose, is Ionic for Βράγχος, as βέρεθρον for βάραθρον.

2. 77.

ἀλλ' ἔκητ' ἀλκῆς

θαρσέων λέ[ονθ' ἔλ]οιμ' ἄν—εἰ Θαλῆς εἴη.

'If you talk of courage, I would boldly hunt down a lion—if that lion were Thales.' So I wrote (*Academy*, January 16, 1892), and Professor Tucker's λέοντ' ἴδοιμ' ἄν appeared (from Australia) the next week, and these, I think, were the only two emendations published taking this form. Bücheler now reads λέοντ' ἄγχοιμ' ἄν, which is hyperbolic, I think.

<sup>5</sup> The only conjecture which can contend against it is Dr. Jackson's τόν μ' ἄν. But I don't know whether a passage can be produced where τόν με is used, and not τὸν ἐμέ.

## 2. 80.

ἐρᾶς σὸ μὲν ἴσως Μυρτάλης, οὐδὲν δεινόν,  
ἐγὼ δὲ πυρέων ταῦτα δοὺς ἐκείν' ἕξεις.

P. has πυρε . ν . Bücheler has the credit of having first published πυρῶν for πυρε . ν of the papyrus (*Rheinische Mus.*, Oct., 1891), a conjecture which I published shortly after in ignorance that he (as well as Mr. Hardie) had forestalled me. But the papyrus clearly points to πυρέων; and this goes far to defend this form of the genitive plural of πυρός, which is testified to by excellent MSS. of Herodotus in 2. 2. 36, and is read by such high authorities as Gaisford and Schweighauser. See Jelf, § 89. 3, for a defence of it.—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, 1892).

## 3. 7.

καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπαρκέουσιν  
αἱ ἀστραγάλοι, λαμπρίσκε.

Dr. Rutherford, in his second edition, and Herwerden rightly restore αἱ δορκάδες for the gloss αἱ ἀστραγάλοι, though neither of them ascribes the correction to its proper author, Mr. Hardie (*Academy*, Oct. 17, 1891). Bücheler unwisely keeps αἱ ἀστραγάλοι, remarking that the second syllable is 'producta praeter morem.' That alone is enough to condemn it. But what of the feminine form? is it not 'praeter morem'? Although I believe αἱ δορκάδες is right, it may be worth suggesting that Herondas wrote αἱ στρογγύλαι. I think it possible that αἱ στρογγύλαι may have been a name for 'knuckle bones,' which always had *rounded ends*, and were only marked on four sides, as contrasted with regular dice, κύβοι, which were marked on all six sides.—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, 1892).

3. 17.

ἦν μήκοτ' αὐτὴν οἶον Ἀΐδην βλέψας  
γράφῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν, ἐκ δ' ὅλην ξύσῃ.

So I wrote in the *Academy* last October, giving ἦν for κῆν; and so now Bücheler, I am glad to see, has edited. The κ slipped in from the beginning of 13, 14, 15. This is the only change necessary. 'Unless, perhaps, he, scowling at it as though it were Hades (writes nothing fair on it indeed, but) scratches (the wax) off all of it.'

I have written 'writes' to 'but' in a parenthesis to mark the fact that the main statement is contained in ξύσῃ; the statement γράφῃ μὲν οὐδέν is an incidental parenthetic denial, and οὐδέν is quite legitimate; see Madvig, *Greek Synt.*, 207. 1. βλέψας, not exactly 'looking at it,' which sense of βλέπειν, with simple accusative, is late, but rather 'regarding it,' 'viewing it,' the mental notion combining with the physical, it being in his view a Hades; 'seeing in it a Hades.'

3. 50.

ὄρη δ' ὁκοίως τὴν ῥάκιν λελέπηκε  
πᾶσαν καθ' ὅλην οἶα Δῆλιος κυρτεύς,  
ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τῶμβλὸ τῆς ζοῆς τρίβων.

Why this gird at the fishermen of Delos? If, as I believe, the scene of all the mimes is placed in Cos, it is difficult to see why the Delians are selected as types of creel-fishermen who must have been plentiful in Cos. I think Herondas wrote δέλαιος. This word is often a dactyl, and is so in Herondas, 7. 39. -ει and -η are often confounded in MSS., and, I think, this confusion is more than once found in our papyrus. The 'wretched' life of fishermen, 'famelica hominum natio' is often satirized.—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, 1892).

## 3. 56-58.

ἀλλ' εἴ τι σοί, Λαμπρίσκε, καὶ βίον πρῆξιν  
 ἐσθλὴν τελοῖεν αἶδε, κάγαθὼν κύρσαις,  
 ἔλασσον αὐτῷ Μητροτίμης μὴ σπέρχαιο·  
 ἔξει γὰρ οὐδὲν μείον.

So I write the third verse. 'Don't be a bit less angry with him than I am. For he will be all the better for it.' In the papyrus μὴ comes before ἔλασσον, and the end of the verse runs, *μητροτιμῆ ἐπενχαιο*. The shifting of the μὴ was first proposed, I think, by Dr. Jackson. But the changes of *Μητροτιμῆ* to *Μητροτίμης*, and of *ἐπενχαιο* to *σπέρχαιο*, seem to be equally necessary. The original verse ending *Μητροτιμῆς μῆς περχαιο*, one *μῆς* was omitted, and the other changes followed. Metrotime was angry with her boy: but she had uttered no imprecation on him, and does not ask the schoolmaster to utter any. For *σπέρχεσθαι τινι*, cf. Herod. 5. 33. There are traces of alteration towards the end of the verse.

## 3. 71.

I only pause for a moment at this verse to express my entire concurrence with Dr. Rutherford's most clever emendation :

μή, μή, ἱκετεύω 'πρίσκει πρὸς σε τῶν Μουσέων,

an emendation which is as convincing as it is out of the common. The papyrus has *λαμπρίσκει* corrected from *προσπρίσκει*.

3. 87.

μέθεισθε, Κόκκαλ', αὐτον. M. ουδεκληξαι.

So the verse ends in P. I write οὐκ ἐῷ λῆξαι, or, nearer still to P, and perhaps better, οὐδ' ἐῷ λῆξαι, 'but I won't have you leave off.' For δέ in dialogue cf. οὐδ' ἐπεμνήσθην, 4. 53; perhaps ἐγὼ δέ, 1. 3 (where, however, I would write ἐγὼ ὤδε).—(*Academy*, Oct. 24, 1891).

3. 74-76.

Bücheler's arrangement of these verses is probably right. But it was first proposed by Mr. Hardie (*Academy*, October 17, 1891) and Mr. Jevons (October 31, 1891). He reads:

ἀλλ' εἰς πονηρός, Κότταλε, ὥστε καὶ περνάς  
οὐδεὶς σ' ἐπαινέσειεν οὐδ' ὅκου χώρης  
οἱ μὲν δμοίως τὸν σῖδηρον τρώγουσιν.

P has οκως χωρης, but οκως is corrected to οκου.<sup>6</sup> 'No one even selling you would have a good word for you, not even where mice eat iron,' not even in the most bare and poverty-stricken parts of the world; Büch. compares Seneca Apoc. 7, 'venisti huc ubi mures ferrum rodunt,' said of Hades. But Bücheler is surely wrong in giving τᾱ, τᾱ in 79, and rendering it 'tax! tax!' 'swish! swish!' It surely is 'mamma.' In 85:

πρός σοι βαλέω τὸν μῦν τάχ' ἦν πλέω γρύξῃς

he, probably rightly, takes μῦν to be 'a gag.' It seems possible that the verb προσβαλέω is selected because it is the proper word for setting an animal at a person: Dem., 332, ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων—'I will set the mouse at you'!

<sup>6</sup> ὅκως may, however, be sound, and mean the same thing as ὅκου, which may be merely a gloss: cf. ὥς, and ut twice in Catullus.

## 4. 16.

ἴητρα. Herwerden says, 'nova vox'; and Bücheler only refers to the Epidaurian inscriptions. But the word is in Hesychius: ἴατρα· μισθοὶ θεραπείας.

## 4. 39.

Φίλη. I suppose Φίλη to be a proper name. Pape quotes several instances of it. Cynno, both here and in 72, addresses her friend as Φίλη; while the latter never calls Cynno Φίλη only, but] Κυννοῖ, Κυννί, Κύννα, or φίλη Κυννοῖ.

## 4. 46-51.

I propose to write this difficult passage thus:

λαίμαστρον, οὐδ' ὀργῇ σε κρηγύην οὐδὲ  
βέβηλος αἰνεί· πανταχῇ δ' ἴση κείσαι.  
μαρτύρομαι, Κύδιλλα, τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον  
ὥς ἔκ με κάεις οὐ θέλουσαι οἰδῆσαι·  
μαρτύρομαι, φήμ', ἔσσετ' ἡμέρη κείνη  
ἐν ᾗ τὸ βρέγμα τοῦτο τῶς Σύρος κνήσει.

I give οὐδέ twice instead of οὔτε twice; ἴση before κείσαι, although I cannot read a letter in the fac-simile. Mr. Kenyon, however, has read δισεγκισαι. κάεις in 1 and 4 with Dr. Jackson. ἔσσετ' ἡμέρη κείνη was proposed by myself in the *Academy* of Oct. 24, 1891, for ἔς σε τῆμέρη κείνη, and has since been edited by van Herwerden. For the desperate τῶσνρος of the last verse, I venture to write τῶς, *i.e.* the Ionic form of ταύς, 'big,' which we may suppose had a contract form ταῦς, of which the Ionic would be τῶς, as θωῦμα for θαῦμα, and Σύρος. The meaning of the verses as I write them is: 'Greedy-gut as you are, and

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useless of disposition, not even a heathen praises you, but you are always the same lazy thing! I call yon god to witness, Cydilla, how you enrage me, in spite of myself! I call him to witness, I say, that a day shall come in which a stout Syrian slave shall give your noddle a combing for you!'

4. 56.

οὐχ ὀργῆς, φίλη Κυνοῖ,  
οἷ' ἔργα; κοινὴν ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην  
γλύψαι τὰ καλὰ· χαιρέτω δὲ δέσποινα.

*κοινὴν* is undoubtedly corrupt. First, it gives no sense. Secondly, there is a mark of some sort over the ο in the papyrus. This may possibly mean that the ο is to be omitted. In that case *κείνην* (*κινὴν*) would mean 'yonder Athene,' said by the lady pointing to a statue of the goddess. But I think it possible Herondas wrote *Κώην*, 'a Coan Athene.' There *was* no Coan Athene; she was not a patroness of Cos, as she was of Athens, and that is just the point. 'You would say that Athene had come and taken Cos under her protection, and produced her lovely works among us.' Hence the lady adds *χαιρέτω δὲ δέσποινα*, 'my homage to our Lady.' Having omitted Athene's name in the list of divinities invoked at the beginning of the poem, the superstitious woman now supplies the omission.—(Oct. 24, 1891).

4. 74.

ἔν μ' ἐλθεν ἔν δ' ἀπηρνέθη.

I should decidedly prefer *ἐλθεν*: 'won one thing, and was refused another.'—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, 1892).

4. 93-95.

LADY :

καὶ ἐπὶ μὴ λάθῃ φέρειν.

COTTALE :

αὐτή

τῆς ὑγίης λῶ.

LADY :

πρόσδος· ἥ γὰρ ἱρουσιν

με[ί]ων ἀμαρτήσῃ ὑγίης τι τῆς μοίρης.

So I propose to write. In the last verse P. has

με . ων αμαρτησηυγίης τι της μοιρης.

The sense seems to me this. The lady tells her maid not to forget to make an offering for health herself. Cottale, with no superfluous brevity in her litany, says : 'I too want health.' This arrangement was, quite rightly, given by Rutherford. Now, it seems she makes an offering which her mistress thinks is too scanty, who says, 'give more; otherwise being short in your dues you will miss somewhat of your share of health.' μέλων is technical as regards sacrifices; cf. *μειαγωγεῖν*. The aphaeresis of the *υ* in *υγίης* is defended by the aphaeresis of the *ι* in *ἱκαναί*, 3. 81, while the form *υγίη* occurs just above vs. 86. This *τι* is characteristic of Herondas: cf. 1. 8; 3.; 4. 33; 5. 73; 7. 63.—(Nov. 7, 1891, partly).

5. 1 and 15.

Inextricable confusion has been most unnecessarily introduced into this poem by taking *γάστρων* in these verses to be a proper name. The man's name is plainly stated

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to be Davus in vv. 67, 68, which do not appear to me to present any difficulty.

κατηρτήσθω

οὕτω, κατὰ μὺδος ὥσπερ, ἢ Δάου τιμή.

‘thus let Davus’s penalty be adjusted, as though against a mouse.’ Which means either that Davus’s fate is of no more account in his jealous mistress’s eyes than that little beast’s; or it means that Davus, punctured with the tattooing needle, recalled to Bitinna’s mind the picture of a mouse riddled with a pitchfork. One or other of these may have been the meaning of the proverb κατὰ μὺδος ὀλεθρον; and Plaut. Bacch. 4. 8. 46–8, agrees very well with the second interpretation:

Si tibist machaera, at nobis vervina est domi,

Qua quidem te faciam, si tu me inritaveris,

Confossiozem soricina naenia :

‘More riddled through than an expiring mouse.’ γάστρων was not known as a proper name in the age of Herondas, not for centuries after; its only meaning was ‘fat-paunch’: and it is so used by Archilochus who called Pittacus γάστρων, and by Aristophanes who makes Charon apply it to Bacchus. The first line should run:

λέγε μοι σύ, γάστρων ἥρ’ ὑπερκορῆς οὕτω.

The papyrus gives ηδ.—(*Academy*, October 24, 1891, and November 7, 1891).

Herwerden has since edited ἥρ’, but reads ὑπερκορεῖς. The latter verb is possible, but I cannot find that Theognis uses it, as Herwerden says; I can only find (Theog. 1158) ὑπερκορέσας from ὑπερκορέννυμι.

## 5. 20, 21.

ἐκδυθι, φημί· δεῖ σ' ὀτεύνεα' εἰ δοῦλος  
καὶ τρεῖς ὑπέρ σευ μνᾶς ἔθηκα γινώσκειν.  
ὥς μὴ καλῶς γένοιτο τῇμέρῃ κείνῃ  
ἦτις σ' ἐπήγαγ' ὦδε.

So I am glad to say Bücheler reads, with a full stop at γινώσκειν, which governs ὀτεύνεα, as in 6. 61. In previous editions there was no stop, as if the following verse depended on γινώσκειν, making an impossible construction. I proposed this change (*Academy*, Jan. 16). There is, I think, a strongly marked stop in the fac-simile.

## 5. 43.

ἦδη 'φαμάρτει σοι ἐὰν οὗτος ἡγήται.

The last syllable of ἐὰν is long, so the reading is impossible. Rutherford, followed by Herwerden, gives :

ἦδη 'φαμάρτει ὅκοι σοι ἂν οὗτος ἡγήται,

which contains two elisions, neither of which could take place even in Herondas. Prodelision or aphaeresis will not shelter them; for prodelision, except after a few monosyllables, can only take place in arsis; and this would not cover the second elision here, for it would introduce a spondee in the fourth foot. Bücheler reads :

ἦδη 'φαμάρτει σφι ἐὰν οὗτος ἡγήται,

introducing an impossible hiatus of a short syllable, and totally ignoring the false quantity in ἐάν. I take this opportunity of saying that I do not believe a single case of hiatus exists in Herondas beyond—(1) such well-known and legitimate cases as ὦ ἄναξ, τί ἐστι, ἰή, ἰή; and (2) his favourite hiatus of a long monosyllable in the first foot of

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a resolved arsis. This is abundant in Herondas. It does not exist in Greek Iambic verse, tragic or comic, elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, it abounds in Latin comedy, and it is fair to surmise that Livius and Plautus, the creators of the Latin system, founded their usage on that of Herondas, and perhaps other authors of his age who have perished. As to the verse before us, it may be easily brought under this latter head by writing :

ἤδη 'φάμάρτει σοι ὅταν οὗτος ἡγήται.

'Be ready to go with him the moment he leads you.'—  
(*Academy*, Jan. 16).

5. 59, 60.

CYDILLA.

ὄρῃς ὅκως νῦν τοῦτον ἐκ βίης ἔλκεις  
ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, Πύρρε; [ναί] μὰ τουτούς σε  
τοὺς δύο Κύδιλλ' ἐπόψεθ' ἡμερέων πέντε  
παρ' Ἀντιδώρῳ τὰς Ἀχαϊκὰς κείνας  
ἄς πρῶν ἔθηκας τοῖς σφύροισι τρίβοντα.

I am glad to see that Bücheler has adopted a reading which is practically the same as the above, which I proposed in the *Academy* of January 16. The papyrus gives Πυρρηι εμα τουτους. Bücheler reads Πυρρήη; σέ, μᾶ τούτους, taking Cydilla to be the speaker, as I do, and τούτους τοὺς δύο to be Cydilla's two eyes, as I proposed : cf. 6. 23, μὰ τούτους τοὺς γλυκέας, φίλη Μητροῖ, where there can be no doubt that (as I proposed in the *Academy* of September 26, 1891) ὀφθαλμοὺς is the ellipse : cf. Theocr. 6. 22 :

οὐ, τοῦτον τὸν ἓνα γλυκὺν ᾧ ποθόρημι,

<sup>7</sup> As distinct from crasis or aphaeresis.

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a view now also adopted by Bücheler against Rutherford's θεούς and Headlam's παῖδας. But μᾶ is not known ever to govern a case; it is only an exclamation. If it did govern a case it would, I suppose, observe the same rule as μά, viz. that it can only be used in negative sentences, unless where joined with ναί. I confess I should like to throw this rule overboard here, and read Πυρρίη, μὰ τούτους σε, but it is safer, I think, to read Πύρρε, a clipped form of Πυρρίη, like Κυννί for Κυννοῖ, Κοττίς for Κότταλος, Πρίσκε for Λάμπρισκε, and to suppose that the scribe did not like to write Πύρρε, and making the lines too long by writing the full form, was obliged to omit ναί.

5. 73.

Κύδιλλα, μὴ λυπεῖτέ με.

This is generally corrected to μὴ με λυπεῖτε, but Cydilla alone is addressed, not as one of several intercessors, therefore the plural cannot stand. Read μὴ τι λύπει με, or μὴ με λύπει τι.—(*Academy*, January 16, 1892).

5. 77.

οὔ, τὴν τύραννον, ἀλλ' ἐπέειπερ οὐκ οἶδεν κ. τ. λ.

The papyrus gives ου . ην τυραννον. The third letter was, I think, σ, and my reading is an emendation of a scribe's mistake. I write οὔ, τὴν τύραννον, 'No, by the queen,' probably a traditional oath in Cos, which may have come down from the days of Artemisia, Queen of Caria (*Academy*, November 7, 1891). This reading is adopted by Bücheler. 'By the dog,' 'by the goose,' 'by the cabbage,' are known oaths; 'by the queen' seems a

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more natural oath, especially in a woman's mouth, than any of these: cf. Lucian, *Catapl.* 11; he makes a dead *τύραννος* say that when alive his subjects swore by him: *ὅλως ὄρκος ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐγώ.*

6. 63.

*κατ' οἰκίην δ' ἐργάζετ' ἐνπολέων λάθρη.*

I do not think this line has been correctly explained. Bücheler renders 'domi autem operatur venumque dat furtim.' But where else but at his own house or shop would he, under any circumstances, work? The true meaning is, I suggest, 'he traffics from house to house, selling his goods by stealth.' Cerdon dared not set up a shop for fear of the publicans; he went round peddling his goods. *ἐργάζεσθαι* often means 'to trade,' 'traffic.'

6. 68.

*ἰδοῦσα μ[ανί]η τῶμματ' ἐξεκύμην.*

So I propose to fill up the gap. Mr. Kenyon only gives *μ . . .*, but the last letter seems to me to be *η* in the fac-simile, and the iota is often omitted. I admit that the beginning of the second letter does not look like the beginning of *α*, but rather *ι* or *η*. But I cannot agree with Bücheler that the last letters look like *-ως*. He reads *ἰλλῶς*: 'limis oculis.' *ἀμῖλλη* would suit the papyrus better than anything, but could scarcely be right.—(November 7, 1891).

6. 97-112.

Metro takes her departure, and Coritto at once orders her servant to 'count the spoons.' I have no doubt that that is the sense of these six lines. They are unfortunately very much worm-eaten, and the only lines which I feel able

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to restore with much confidence are the two last. But I suggest they may have run somehow thus :

ὑγίαινε, Μ[ητροί, πολλά· ν]αὶ μὰ τ[ὸν] χωρεῖ[ς]  
 ἡμί[ν] φ[ιληθείς] ὧς τι· τὴν θύρην κλείσον  
 αὐτ[ῇ] σ]ὺ [πρῶ]το[ν], Πωλί, καξαμίθρησαι  
 αἱ ἀλ[ευσίδ]ες [τρῆς εἰ σό]αι εἰσι, τῶν τε αἰρέων  
 αὐτῇ [τριηκάς]· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ πορθεῖ[σι]  
 ὦρν[ι]θ[ες] αὐτ[ῇ]αι κῆν τρέφῃ τις ἐν κόλπῳ.

Πωλί is a suggestion of Mr. Headlam's for Γυλλί, which I had proposed. The papyrus seems to have ω. The sense I give is: 'Shut the door first thing, Polis, and count whether the three goblets are safe, and exactly thirty αἶραι. For, sure enough, birds like this pillage one, even if one fosters them in one's bosom.' I feel pretty sure of πορθεῖσι and ὦρνιθες. Metro, like an ungrateful pet bird nurtured in Coritto's bosom (cf. *in sinu tenere* of Lesbia's sparrow), is ready to steal her goods and spoil her furniture. For πορθοῦσι, pillage, plunder, cf. Eupolis, 2. 495 (Meineke), τὰργύρια πορθεῖται; Ar. *Ach.* 164; *Anthol. Pal.* 5. 58. The other readings are merely tentative. αἱ αλ is clear at the beginning of the fourth verse, so our choice seems limited to ἀλουργίδες and ἀλκυβιάδες; the latter means a kind of shoes; but I prefer to coin the diminutive ἀλεισίς; or some form denoting a salt-cellar is possible. The only meanings of the word αἶρα hitherto known are—1, darnel; 2, a hammer. It *may* have meant some domestic implement like a spoon.—(*Academy*, Jan. 16, partly).

6. 91.

ἀλλ' οὖν τότ' οὐχὶ τοὺς δὺ' εἶχες ἐκλύσαι;

I have not seen Photius, λύσεται . ὠνήσεται quoted on this use of ἐκλύειν for 'to buy.'

7. 9.

κίνει τάχως τὰ γούνατ'. . . . ψ.

I think the ninth line ended with ὑδρώψ. I am led to this belief by the fact that Mr. Samuel Weller, a great observer of men and manners, addresses the fat boy with the words 'Come, wake up, *young dropsy*.' I would also appeal to the fifth verse, πάλιν καθεύδεις, which seems to have, by some prenatal association, inspired Mr. Wardle's apostrophe of the same obese buttons, 'Joe! d—n that boy, he's *gone to sleep again* !'

7. 85.

φύλασσε κα . ας αὐτά.

κλήσας and κλείσας, which have been suggested by myself and others, will not do, as both α are certain, and I now think Herondas wrote κάψας, '*you'd better swallow them*, and guard them safe.' This hyperbolical absurdity is in keeping with Metro's sarcastic warning, that the cats would steal the coin. I think I see the right-hand corner of the ψ in the fac-simile.

7. 117.

ψωρή[ν]

ἄρ' ἦρεν ὄπλη[ν] βοῦς ὁ λακτίσας ὑμᾶς.

So [or, if necessary, ἄρ'] I propose to write for ψωρή ἄρηρεν ὄπλη, which does not admit of construction.

In conclusion, let me say one word on the worth of Herondas as a writer. He has, it seems to me, been very much underrated. Although he has not the charm and grace of Theocritus, he possesses very great and uncommon merit of his own. There is a certain quiet reserve in all his pieces, a calm classicality, which never palls

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upon the reader. His pieces grow in favour the oftener they are read. In dramatic power he is at least equal to Theocritus. His mimes are so many *genre* pictures, in which the subjects are chosen from the commonest scenes of every-day life, but painted with dexterous touch and in striking colours. His characters are all individuals. The staid Mandris, the Penelope of the Mimes; the shameless Battarus, with his coarse jests and reckless self-humiliation; that really noble picture of the women in the temple of Aesculapius, which contains some of the simplest and most dignified lines in Greek literature; the furious, jealous, changeable Bitinna; those lewd, gossiping queans, Coritto and Metro; the chattering, chaffering, bald-headed shoemaker—these are portraits which, once surveyed, live distinctly in the mind. Herondas is the Teniers of Greek literature.

A. PALMER.

*April 2, 1892.*

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# HERMATHENA.



## THE MADRID MS. OF MANILIUS.

**I**T is a remarkable proof of the neglect which has fallen on astrology and astrological writers in the nineteenth century, that a complete collation of the earliest and best MS. of Manilius has only<sup>1</sup> recently been made, and that what seems to be one of the best copies of the MS. discovered by Poggio at S. Gallen, a little before 1420, is as yet an *arcanum*. Woltjer<sup>2</sup> (1881), I believe, was the first scholar who announced to the world the existence of this treasure at Madrid; a short account of it was included by Hartel in vol. i. of the *Bibliotheca Patrum Hispaniensis*, p. 454, cf. p. 418, but without any excerpts by which its value and relation to other MSS. might be estimated.

In the Easter vacation of 1892, I visited Madrid with the object of seeing and collating this codex. For this my previous study of Manilius,<sup>3</sup> especially a prolonged examination of the *Vossianus secundus*, partly at Leyden, and partly in the Bodleian, whither it was sent by the courtesy of the directors of the Leyden Library, M. de

<sup>1</sup> By Prof. P. Thomas, in his *Lucubrations Manilianae*, Ghent, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> *De Manilio poeta*, Groningae, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the results of my study of Manilius are published in my *Noctes Manilianae*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1891.

Rieu and M. de Vries, had sufficiently prepared me. It is my conviction that the light which this MS. throws on not a few passages of Manilius' poem will tend to a great enlargement of interest in this forgotten fragment of Roman literature.

The MS. is in the Biblioteca Nazionale, numbered **M 31**, in form a small folio. At the top of fol. 1<sup>a</sup> a modern hand has written *Manilii Astronomicon & Statii Papinii sylvae et Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem et Valerii Flacci nonnulla*. Immediately below is Manil. i. 83, et q̄cūque sagax tempando repperit usus, and the rest of the poem onwards. The last verse of B. v. forms the fifth line of fol. 54<sup>a</sup>. The succeeding folios to the end of 63<sup>b</sup> are blank; on 64<sup>a</sup> begin the *Silvae* of Statius; of this a collation was made by Löwe, which Prof. Götz has allowed Mr. Moriz Krohn to use for his forthcoming edition. Not wishing to interfere with Mr. Krohn I made no collation of this part of the MS., though from the cursory inspection I gave to it, I should suppose it to be one of the best copies of the *Silvae*.

What seems to be another portion of the same codex is now a separate codex of the same size, x. 81, but written in a different hand, resembling, if my memory does not belie me, that of the famous Trau MS. of Petronius, now in the Paris Library. This MS. (x. 81) contains, besides other matter, the Commentary of Asconius on Cicero's Orations and part of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (i.-iv. 317). I collated part of the Asconius for my friend Mr. A. C. Clarke, Fellow of Queen's College, but there seemed to be few readings of importance. The Valerius I did not examine.

To return to the Manilius. The writing of B. i. is, at starting, very large, clear, and careful, somewhat in the Gothic style, and possibly in imitation of an earlier form of writing. By degrees the hand becomes smaller; a pal-

pable and very distinct diminution begins on fol. 4<sup>a</sup>, at the sixth line from the bottom after *Ex simili dictum cepheus-que et casieppa* and begining *Ne uacuum solis fulgentem d. orbem*. But on fol. 4<sup>b</sup> it begins to be large again, though it soon becomes smaller; and this smaller hand, but in varying degrees of smallness, is retained through the rest of the poem from fol. 7<sup>b</sup> onwards, the first four verses of which are large, the next smaller, the remainder smaller still. The pages are correspondingly different in number of verses; the first page has 40; fol. 7<sup>b</sup>, 46; fol. 8<sup>a</sup>, 40; and 40 is the usual number, in the *Silvae* as well.

I could wish that a more practised expert than myself had pronounced on the date of the MS. Hartel fixes it vaguely as 1400-1500; but if it be a copy of the MS. discovered by Poggio, it can hardly be earlier than 1420. And a copy of Poggio's MS. it would seem to be from its close agreement with the Vossianus secundus. For these two MSS. have some very remarkable particulars in which they disagree with all the early MSS. of Cent. x., xi., xii., and cannot have been derived from any of them. And if they did not stem from these, it is a natural inference that they stem from the MS., no doubt of considerable antiquity, which Poggio discovered (1417-1418) at S. Gallen.<sup>4</sup> The Italians, who mention the *finding* of Manilius by Poggio, had no more idea that earlier MSS. of the poet were in existence than of Asconius' *Commentary on Cicero*, or

<sup>4</sup> The other MS., which contains (fol. 26 b-64 b) the Asconius, and (65 b to end) Val. Flaccus I.-iv. 317, preceded, fol. 1-17, by the chronicle of Sigebert, has at the end of the Val. Flacc. the following *subscriptio* :—

C. ualeri flacci argonauticon. Hoc fragmentum repertum est in monasterio sancti galli prope constantiam x̄x milibus passuum una cum parte Q.

asconii pediani. deus concedat alteri ut utrumque opus reperiatur (*sic*) perfectum. Nos quod potuimus egimus.

.. Poggius florentinus . .

This MS. (X 81) is not written in the same handwriting as M 31. The general character of the writing of X 81 is more modern than M 31. The Chronicon Sigeberti (fol. 1-17) is in a straggling hand not uncommon in the

Statius' *Silvae*, both of which, with part of Val. Flaccus's *Argonautica*, were discovered by Poggio about the same time.

The most signal agreements of M with Voss<sup>2</sup> are :—

1. After II. 902

Bellaque morborum caecis pugnancia telis

M and Voss<sup>2</sup> have a half verse—

per tanta pericula mortis

which is not found in the other MSS., though Iacob states that a vacant space for one complete line has been left in the Lipsiensis of the eleventh century. It is noticeable that in M the half-verse is written in capitals—

PER . TANTA . PERICVLA . MORTIS

the first word, PER, in a line with the first word of 902. The capitals point to something unusual, but I do not know what. Ordinarily in M the lemmata marking the different sections of the subject which occupy each book (see Thomas' collation of the Gemblacensis) are so written, and these only. But this helps us but little, as the words in question are the indubitable remnant of a hexameter which has survived in M and Voss<sup>2</sup>, and, so far as is yet known, nowhere else.

2. V. 12, 13—

Hinc uocat Orion [magni pars maxima caeli

Et ratis heroum] quae nunc quoque nauigat astris.

fifteenth century, and somewhat resembling the Vossianus secundus of Manilius at Leyden. The rest of X 81, the Asconius and Val. Flaccus, is in a very set hand, the most predominant peculiarity of which is the form of final s. There are a good many alterations. In writing names the praenomen is written with a capital, the remainder in ordi-

nary minuscule, *Q. hortensio*, *Q. metello cretico*. It is a highly probable hypothesis that M 31 and X 81 are parts of the same MS. : the size of each corresponds, though the writing differs. But I have not ventured to argue from the *subscriptio* at the end of X 81 as if it certainly proved anything for M 31.

The words bracketed are in *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>, not in the other MSS. collated by Iacob, neither the Gemblacensis, Lipsiensis, Cusanus (x., xi., xii. cent.), nor Voss<sup>1</sup> (xv.). They are necessary to the sense, and look genuine.

3. After III. 159 *M* and Voss<sup>2</sup> have, written in form of a verse, *Quomodo adaper* (*adapet* Voss<sup>2</sup>) *signa de sonibus amnri* (? *aninri*), *M*; *aumri* Voss<sup>2</sup>, a mysterious sequence hitherto unexplained, but not found in the other MSS.

4. The verse *A sole ad lunam* (*alunā M*) *numerabis* (*munerabis M*) *in* (*om* Voss<sup>2</sup>) *ordine partes* (iii. 188) is found in *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>, and not in any other MS. collated by Iacob.

5. The vv. III. 404-6 are omitted by *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>, not in other MSS.

6. v. 422, *Et senibus uires sumet fluctumque figurat*, occurs again after 425 in this form *et senibus uiresonabit aqua nunc aequore mersas* (that is, half of 422 combined with the ending of 425) in both *M* and Voss<sup>2</sup>, but with this difference that in Voss<sup>2</sup> *senibus* is written *seniby* (see *Noct. Manil.* p. 180).

In the following passages the agreement of *M* and Voss<sup>2</sup> is remarkable:—

iv. 215. Denique et in ambiguo.

et *om.* *G* (Gembl.).

216. rectoris tegens *M*; rectore tegens Voss<sup>2</sup>; rectoris egens *G*.

350. sic manet ingrati Capricornus crimine turpi *M*; ingratus *G*.

460. octauae similis secumseque peracta *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; decumaeque *G*.

451. frauda *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; fraudata *G*.

476. cludunt *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; claudunt *G*.

515. findens *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; fundens *G*.

531. exsutus *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; exutus *G*.

623. aurumque *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>, arcumque *G*; Taurumque *Manilius*.

v. 16. diuitis detauri *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; diuitis auri *G*.

64. totaque habitabit in orbe *M*, Voss<sup>2</sup>; totoque h. in orbe *G*;  
totaque h. in urbe *Manilius*.

- v. 107. Abruptumque patri *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Abruptamque *G*.  
 136. Suspensas trepitus *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Suspensas trepidus *G*; Suspensa ad strepitus *Manilius*.  
 137. Ingenies tuisendi *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ingenium uiscendi *G*.  
 238. tuas—ulmos *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; tuos—ulmos *G*.  
 260. Caeruleumque foliis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Caeruleum foliis *G*.  
 385. ueneris gaudent *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; gaudent veneris *G*.  
 415. uero fauet *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *L*; uero fauit *G*.  
 533. Adquoquet *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; et coquet *G*.  
 605. exstillat *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; extollit *G*.  
 606. puella *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; puellae *G*.  
 642. uel le bis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; uel bis *G*.  
 687. Aepaet *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Aepa<sup>i</sup> et *G*.

In B. I. the agreement of *M* with *Voss*<sup>2</sup> is very rare. The most noticeable is perhaps 812, *uenerem intangit*, where other MSS. have *u. inter agit*: see *Noct. Manil.* in loc. In B. II. I note the following:—

- II. 44. anguis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>.  
 76. fontis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>.  
 77. partis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>.  
 139. Vbera tam *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>.  
 156. moris *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; mores *G*, rightly.  
 242. tempora *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; tempore *G*.  
 495. condito rastro *M*; conditor astro *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; conditur astro *G*.  
 587. rerum sponso *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; reum sponsor *Manilius*.  
 674. partibus *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; partis *G*.  
 691. racione *M*; ratione *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ratio est *G*.  
 692. inferens—poscis *M*; inferens—postis *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; infestis—possis *G*.  
 694. passum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; passam *G*.  
 702. numeros *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; numeris *G*.  
 730. Qua et hunc *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Quae et hinc *G*.  
 731. pariterque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; pariter *G*.  
 732. Hic tibi *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Hic ibi *G*.  
 735. destituêterustum *M*; destituente iustum *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; destituent te iustum *G*; destituent eius tum *Manilius*.

- II. 737. sicut sunt *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; sicut stant *G*.  
 740. quod sit *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; quid sit *L*.  
 764. Vt fluat *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Et fluat *G*.  
 816. omni gratia *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; omnis gloria *Cusanus*.  
 849. interminumque *M*; internimumque *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; interimum  
 quam *G*.  
 859. cardoque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; caeloque *G*.  
 868. neu prestitit *M*; non praestitit *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; neu praestat *G*; neu  
 praestet *Cusanus*.  
 872. supina *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; superna *G*.  
 874. fraudat acadat *M*; fraudat accadat *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; fraudata cadet *G*.  
 881. refulentis *M*; refulontis *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; refulgentis *G et plerique*.  
 882. non ipsi *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; nec ipsi *G*.  
 893. Diuersa *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Aduersa *G*.  
 903. causasque deique *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; causaque deique *Cus.*,  
*Voss*<sup>1</sup>; causaque dieique *o* (ms. of Corpus Christi College  
 at Oxford).  
 920. culmuicque *M*; culmintque *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; culmineque *G*.  
 924. redita *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; reddita *G*.  
 930. incipit *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; inscipit *M*; suscipit *G et plerique*.  
 936. Nascendumque (*sic*) adque patrum *M*; Nascendum patrum-  
 que *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Nascentum atque patrum *G*.  
 937. Asperum erit templum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Asperum erat tempus *G*  
*et plerique*.

It is observable that the two MSS. *M* and *Voss*<sup>2</sup> only begin to approximate closely to each other after II. 670; thenceforward the resemblances are numerous and striking. It is hazardous, in our present imperfect knowledge, to attempt an explanation of this phenomenon, but it is very marked. I now proceed to B. III.—

- III. 22. magni *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; magno *G et plerique*.  
 23. sint acta *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; si tacta *G*, *Cus*.  
 33. Quorumque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Quorum quaeque *G*.  
 34. quid *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; quod *G*.  
 45. dat *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; det *nonnulli*.  
 63. Euincunt *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Et uincunt *G et plerique*.

- III. 70. uocarat *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; uocarant *G et plerique*.  
 74. in astris *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; in aruis *G*.  
 88. fortuna et *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; fortunae *G*; natura et *Cus.*, *Voss*<sup>1</sup>.  
 89. Vt cumque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Vt sit cum *G*; Vt cum *L*, *Cus*.  
 90. mouet *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; mouent *G et plerique*.  
 99. concessus *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; concensus *n erasa L*; consensus *Voss*<sup>1</sup>.  
 103. Quoque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Quaeque *G et plerique*.  
 114. Inpositum *M*; Impositum *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Imposita *G et plerique*.  
 121. Et socios tenet comitem (committem *M*) hospitis una *M*,  
*Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Et s. t. et comitantes h. u. *G*.  
 132. Gratorum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Fatorum *G et plerique*.  
 177. duplici *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; duplicem *G*.  
 183. seuus *M*; seuus *or* senus *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; senis *G et plerique*.  
 196. natura euescitur *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; naturae vertitur *G et plerique*.  
 219. orientibus *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; surgentibus *G et plerique*.  
 246. usu *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; usus *G et plerique*.  
 271. est om *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, habent *G et plerique*; ora *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; oras  
*G et plerique*.  
 283. gelida uergentia *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; gelidasque rigentia *G*.  
 292. cadendi *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; canendi uel ori/endi *G*.  
 297. signa *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; signis *G et plerique*.  
 324. ad extremos—axe *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ab <sup>uel ad</sup> extremo—<sup>uel os</sup>axe *G*.  
 325. grauis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; gradus *G et plerique*.  
 327. ad adoiu (omnium) *M*; adorum *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ab omni *G*; ad  
omni *alii*.  
 332. limiter octo *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; limitis octo *G*; limitet octo *Cus.*,  
*Voss*<sup>1</sup>; limite recto *Manilius*.  
 343. umbras *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; umbris *G*.  
 345. efficiunt oculos (occulos *Voss*<sup>2</sup>) *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; efficiunt oculis *G*.  
 348. trahent *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; trahet *G et plerique*.  
 360. meatu *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; meatum *L*, *Cusanus*.  
 364. edini *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; aeclini *M*; acclini *G*.  
 369. uersetur *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; uersatur *G*, *Cus*.  
 382. unde redit *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; unde regit *G et plerique*.  
 395. para terrarum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; parte terrarum *G*; parati terra-  
rum *Cus.*, *Voss*<sup>1</sup>.

- III. 411. semper ut astris *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; semper in astris *G*, *Cus*.  
 415. utrumque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; in utrumque *G et sic plerique*.  
 419. numerus *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; numeris *G et plerique*.  
 420. quod ademitur utque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; quot ademit uterque *G*;  
     utrumque *Cus.*, *Voss*<sup>1</sup> teste *Iacobo*.  
 422. soliscitium *M*; solis scit ium *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; solstitium *G*.  
 423. ducit in eas quas *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ducito in aequas *G*.  
 430. Traditur geminis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Traditur et geminis *G et*  
     *plerique*.  
 431. Procedent *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Procedunt *G et plerique*.  
 446. Contingant *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Contingunt *G et plerique*.  
 490. coniunges *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; coniungis *G*.  
 495. subsistet *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; consistet, *Cus. Voss*<sup>1</sup>.  
 498. summa fecerit unum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; summam fecerit unam *G*.  
 507. nosceret *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; non feret *G et plerique*.  
 511. Quique *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Quae *G et plerique*.  
 515. mundum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; mundi *G et plerique*.  
 516. atque aliis *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; atque illis *G et plerique*.  
 531. requirer *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, et sic *L m. pr.*; requirit *G*; reliquit *Cus*.  
 535. aminantur *M*; animantur *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; minantur *G et plerique*.  
 536. tum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; dum *Cus*.  
 537. placeat *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; pateat *G*, *Cus.*, *L*.  
 580. de eē *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; decem *G et plerique*.  
 586. nunc tantum templorum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; templorum tantum  
     nunc *G et plerique*.  
 593. ni duo *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *G*; si duo *Cus.*, *Voss*<sup>1</sup>.  
 595. quadragenus *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; quadragenis *G*.  
 604. Tertia forma et summo *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Tertia forma est et  
     summo *G*, *Cus*.  
 617. trahant natalis corpore morti *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; trahet natalis  
     corpora morbus *G*.  
 623. emutant *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; emittunt *G et plerique*.  
 629. Tum *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Tunc *G*; Cum *plerique*.  
 634. in aura *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; in auras *G*.  
 641. Tunc figit *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; Tunc fugit *G*, *Cus. et plerique*.  
 649. a sidere *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ad sydera *G et sic plerique*.  
 659. paritur *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; partitur *G et plerique*. ducem *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>,  
     *cum plerisque*; ducens *G*.

- III. 661. a brumae *M*; ab rume *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; ad brumae *G et plerique*.  
 661. cum tempora uincat *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; tum tempora uincit *G*, *L*,  
*Cus*.  
 665. dum semina ducit *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; tunc semina ducunt *G*; tum  
*plerique Iacobo teste*.  
 668. nequiquam *M*. *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; nec cuiquam *G*.  
 676. gerdenda *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, cum *L*; cernenda *G et plerique*.

The result of the above examination proves beyond doubt that *M* and *Voss*<sup>2</sup> were copied from the same original. The resemblances are of a marked kind, and cannot be explained in any other way. But these resemblances are so rare in B. I. as to suggest that one of the two MSS. was in this copied from a *different* fount; at least it is not easy to account otherwise for so considerable a deviation. To judge this point adequately, we require, however, a fuller collation of *Voss*<sup>2</sup> than has yet been published; and this Bechert's forthcoming edition will doubtless provide.

I must now come to the more interesting part of my inquiry; I mean the gains, in point of new readings not hitherto known, which the Madrid codex furnishes.

I. 326, *M* gives thus:—

Nam stella uincitur una  
 Circulus in media radiat quae maxima frunte

against *G* which has *in media radians*. Bentley made this very correction: '*radiat* sententia ipsa flagitat,' and so long before Bentley, Carrion.

I. 343, 344:

tum magni Iouis ales fertur in altum  
 Adsudet et uolitans gestet ceu fulmina mundi, *M*.

*G* gives:

Assueto uolitans gestet cui fulmina mundi.

No one has yet satisfactorily explained *Assueto*. The

Madrid codex suggests that it is a corruption, and possibly of *Ad sudum euolitans gestet ceu f. mundi*.

I. 582 :

Proximus hunc ultra brumalis nomine †timens *M*.

Other MSS. give *cingens*, *tingens*, *tangens*. From *timens* of *M* I elicit *limes*.

I. 712 :

Caeruleum findens ingenti lumine mundum *M*.

*findens*, *G*.

I have shown in my *Noctes Manilianae*, p. 15, that *findens* is the right word here. Hitherto the earliest support for this was a correction of the Lipsiensis. The scribe of *M* has evidently drawn it direct from his original.

I. 739, of Phaethon :

Curruque superbus

Luxuriat mundo cupit et maiora patente *M*.

*parente*, *G* and other MSS.

Possibly *patente* is right. Phaethon wantons in the Sun's chariot, and aspires to something yet more daring in the wide space of sky; for it would be strained to make *mundo patente* depend on *maiora*, as if Phaethon aimed not to confine his course to the open sky, but to wander off on either side at will.

I. 742 :

Deflexum solito cursu †riuisque quadrigis.

So *M*, but *riuis* has afterwards been changed to *curuis*, as *G* and most MSS. *Curuis*, however, is painfully assonant with *cursu* preceding, and not very intelligible as Latin. *M* shows that a different word may lurk concealed, possibly *limisque*, turned slant from their direct onward course. So II. 372, 3, *limis* is opposed to *ex recto*. More probable is *ruidisque*, a rare word, which De Vit in Forcellini explains as 'falling.'

I. 765, 6 :

Danaumque ad Pergama reges,  
Castra ducum et caeli †metamque sub Hectore Troiam.

The v. l. *metamque* for *uictamque* of *G* and the other MSS. is very interesting. The same change of letters occurs a little below, I. 776, *metor* where other MSS. have *uictor*, and again, IV. 162, *Cancer ad ardentem fulgens in cardine* †*metam*, where *M* is the only MS. which gives *metam*, all the rest having *uictam*. The sagacity of Bentley has in this passage again anticipated palæographical research. Hence *metamque* in I. 766 is a strong side support of *uictamque*, which the other MSS. have, and I think it might have a tolerable meaning. The Milky Way, Manilius says, is perhaps the home of the departed souls of heroes and ancient worthies : these are the Aeacidae, the Atridae, Diomedes, Ulysses, Nestor, the chiefs of Hellas assembled at Troy, and the champions of Troy itself, doomed to perish with their city and its leader Hector. The preceding words, *Castra ducum et caeli*, have been explained, as by Mr. Housman, of the opposing camps of chieftains and of gods, some gods ranging themselves for, some against, Troy ; but I do not believe that this was what the poet wrote or meant. After mentioning the Greek chieftains, Manilius would naturally speak of the *Trojan* side. We might expect then that *caeli* disguises some word which would state this distinctly. Such a word would be *Rhesi*, which would easily drop its *h*, *Resi*. Anyone who remembers the Homeric description of the camp of the Trojan allies, and how the Thracians, under their king Rhesus, had stationed their own camp at its extremity, will feel the propriety of such a combination as *Castra ducum et Rhesi*. The description is II. x. 428–435, a notable passage, which might well dwell in the memory. What is more, the very words *Castra, ducum*,

*Rhesi* are all found in a familiar passage of Ovid's A. A. II. 139, 140—

Pluraque pingebat, subitus cum *Pergama* fluctus  
Abstulit et *Rhesi* cum *duce castra* suo,

and we may well believe that Manilius has borrowed Ovid's words here, as he has done in so many other cases: see my *Noctes Manil.*, p. 171.

I. 813, 814, are massed together in *M* thus:

Sunt et iam rarisorti subitas candescere *lāmas*,

a jumble, of which there seems to be no trace in Voss<sup>2</sup>. The v. l. *lāmas* for *flammas* of *G* and other MSS. is remarkable. The combination *candens lamna* is recurrent—Verr. v. 69 *ignes candentesque laminae*; Hor. Epp. i. 13, 36 *lamna candente*; Prop. iv. 7, 35, *candescat lamina uernae*. The broad mass of light sometimes presented by comets might not inaptly be so called.

I. 819:

Nubila cum longo cessant *dispulsa* sereno.

*depulsa G* and most MSS.

An excellent v. l., with every mark of genuineness. Liv. xxvi. 17, *dispulsa sole nebula aperuit diem*, 'dispersed.'

I. 827 sqq. are thus given by Iacob, after *G* and most MSS:

Quod nisi uicinos agerent occasibus ortus,  
Et tam parua forent accensis lumina flammis,  
Alter nocte dies esset caelumque rediret  
Immersum et somno totum deprnderet orbem.

*M* has *diest, esset*, suggesting *deesset*. And is not this right? If comets were not as short-lived as we see them to be, day would cease to be distinguishable from night, and the revolution of the sky would find the world plunged in night, and men and animals asleep. In other words, a

double night would be required. *Alter nocte* = 'different from night.'

II. 9:

cuiusque ex ore profusos  
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit.

*M* has *latites*<sup>c</sup>; *G* and even *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, *lances*. No one who attentively considers the character of *M* as a whole can doubt its being closely transcribed from its original: that original then must have had a word which some interpreted *latices* or *latites*, others *lances*.

II. 18:

Omniaque immenso uolitantia lumina mundo.

*M* has *uniuerso*, a good reading, though *immensus* is often combined with *mundus* by Manilius. Lucretius seems to have written *unorsum*, iv. 262, where Lachmann quotes from s. c. de bacchanalibus *homines plous v. oinuersei*.

II. 46, 47 *M* gives thus:

Quin etiam tenebris inmensum tartara nacta  
In lucem de nocte uocat.

*G* and most MSS. have *tartara natum*, which Scaliger corrected into *tartaron atrum*. *M*'s reading is obviously a corruption of *tartaron atra*, which appears to me in every way superior: *inmensum* is of course, as was long ago corrected, *immersum*.

II. 141-4:

Sed caelo noscenda canam, mirantibus astris  
Et gaudente sui mundo per carmina uatis  
Vel quibus illa sacros non inuidere meatus  
Notitiamque sui, minima est quae turba per orbem.

141 nascenda *M*; rexantibus *M*; gy rantibus *Lips*. 'ab altera manu scriptum' Stoeber. 143 Vt *pro* Vel *M*.

*M*'s variant *rexantibus* is strange. I suppose it to

represent *rixantibus* : the stars quarrel for pre-eminence, each wishing to be the subject of the poet's song. In 143 it may again be a doubt whether *Vt* is not to be preferred to *Vel*, 'inasmuch as to them (viz. the *carmina* of Manilius) those stars have not grudged the knowledge of their courses—a knowledge extended to very few.' *Minima est quae turba* shifts from the *carmina* to the writers of them, a change which will not surprise readers of Manilius. This seems to me less harsh than retaining *Vel* to explain *Vel gaudentibus eis quibus illa* (sc. *sidera*) *non inuidere suos meatus*.

II. 186 :

par est primae sors ultima parti.

par *M* ; pars *G et plerique*.

*M* has *par*, rightly, and so the MS. of C. C. C. I doubt whether *par* is in either MS. a correction.

II. 195 :

Hiberni coeunt cum uernis roribus imbres.

uernis *M solus* ; uer tunc *cett.* ; roboris *M cum ceteris* ; umbres *M*.

The preservation by *M* of the right reading *uernis* is made doubly significant by its agreeing with the other MSS. in the corrupted *roboris*, and presenting a corruption of its own in *umbres*.

II. 839 :

Coniugia atque epulas extremaque tempora uitae.

*M* has *coniugiatque atque* ; *G*, with *Cus.*, *Voss*<sup>1</sup>, *o Coniungitque* ; *L*, *coniugeatque* ; *Voss*<sup>2</sup> (as stated by Iacob), *Emugiatque*.

Bentley shows that *coniungitque* is impossible, and conj. *Coniugia atque*, rightly, as the whole tenor of the passage proves, and as is now made doubly certain by the reading of *M*, which is here in close approximation to *L*.

## II. 879 ;

Cessit et in tumultum belli uitaeque Typhoeus.

*cumulum M*, against *G* and all known MSS., but rightly, as I believe myself to have shown in my *Noct. Manil.*, p. 68, before I had seen the Madrid MS.

## III. 65 :

For *sanxit M* has *sane sit*, i.e. *sancsit*, a survival worth noticing. I take the occasion of specifying other cases in which the spelling of *M* is in accordance with the best tradition—*querellis*, iv. 13; *umor*, *umoris*, *umentis* v. 249, 250, 450; *umeris* v. 557; *umeros* iv. 581; *harenas* v. 436, iv. 669; *harenae* iv. 225; *belua* v. 609; *discribitur* v. 670, 734; *pugna est*, i.e. *pugnaest*, iv. 228, where other MSS. have *pugnae est*. To these may be added *selege* = *selige* iv. 481, *recepit* iv. 331 = *recipit*; *lacxo* v. 662. In I. 571 a trace of the old avoidance of *u* before *u* is found in *Aestiuom*.

## IV. 91, 92 :

Sed rapit exceptos †fumis fortuna superbos  
Indicitque rogam summis statuitque sepulcrum.

So *M*; *funus* most MSS.; *fumis* may be a mistake for *furnis*. Manilius is speaking of the capriciousness of fortune, which in a moment takes men from the bake-house, and exalts them into grandeur, or tells the great man he must die. Suet. Vitell. ii. *ex muliere uulgarī Antiochi cuiusdam furnariam exercentis filia*. Aug. iv. *Antonius despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem proauum eius Afri generis fuisse, et modo unguentariam tabernam, modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse, obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistula, non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut numularii nepotem, sic taxat Augustum: matera tibi farina ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino*. Hor. C. i. 3, 12, *Valet ima summis Mutare et insignem attenuat deus Obscura promens: hinc apicem rapax Fortuna cum stridore acuto Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet*.

## IV. 119-121 :

Quod quoniam docui, superest nunc ordine certo  
 Caelestis fabricare gradus, qui ducere flexo  
 Tramite †prudentem ualeant ad sidera uatem.

For *prudentem* of *G* and most MSS. *M* has *pendentem*. I see little meaning in *prudentem*, much in *pendentem* = με-τεωρισθῆναι, swinging in mid-air. So below, 288, *Naualis etiam pugnas, pendentia bella Attribuunt*, a fight, not on *terra firma*, but, as it were, in the air.

## IV. 222, 223 :

quin ipsa sub armis  
 Pax agitur, capiunt saltus, siluasque †pererrant.

Pererrant *G*; perarant *M*, i.e. I suppose *peragrant*, Verg. G. iv. 53 *Illae continuo saltus siluasque peragrant*.

## IV. 454 :

Pestifera in geminis pars prima et tertia signis.

*Pestifeream geminis M*, i. e. *Pestiferea in*. The archetype seems to have had *Pestiferē*, i. e. the plural *Pestiferae* corrected to the singular *Pestifera*. *Pestiferae* plur. nominative would be better here than *Pestifera*, and the authority of *M* may perhaps be set against *G*.

## IV. 498-501 are thus printed by Iacob :

Hae partes sterilem ducunt et frigore et igni  
 Aera, uel sicco, uel quo superauerit umor ;  
 Si rapidus Mauors ignis iaculatur in illum,  
 Saturnus sumet glaciem Phoebusue calores.

The third and fourth of these were condemned by Scaliger as spurious, but defended by Bentley, who emended them thus—

Seu rapidos M. i. iaculatur in illum  
 Saturnusue suam g. Phoebusue uapores.

*M* gives them so :

Si rapidiss mauors signis iaculetur in illum  
Saturnus fumet glaciem phoebus ueca labores,

in which it is hard to say what *rapidiss* represents, yet from which the true reading emerges with perfect clearness,

Si rapidus (?) Mauors ignis iaculetur in illum  
Saturnus fumet glaciem, Phoebusue calores.

*fumet* = exalet, and is here constructed with a similar accusative of the thing exhaled. Petosiris fr. 12, ed. Ern. Riess in Supplem. to Philologus, 1892, p. 352 ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου περιγυϊότατος γενόμενος ψυκτικώτατος γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς οὕτω συνδιατίθεται.

IV. 553 is thus given by *M* :

Scorpius extraeme cum tollet lumina caude.

extranea *G*; tollit *G*.

This is a passage in which *M* helps us to explain *G*. How did the corruption *extraneae* for *extremae* come about? Obviously through *extraemae*. We may conclude that *M* can be very little removed from its archetype; nay, probably was directly copied from it. This makes it highly probable that *tollet* is also right; and so Iacob restored from *Voss*<sup>2</sup>.

IV. 585, 586 :

Nunc age diuersis dominantia sidera terris  
Percipe. Sed summa est rerum referenda figura.

Sede summa *M*; figuris *G*.

Pingré translates 585 thus : 'Mais il faut préalablement donner une idée générale de la disposition de ces régions.' This is in agreement with Scaliger who compares IV. 122, *signorum uires summumque colorem*. From this point of view *summus* would express something described in outline, as looked at not deeply or from within, but in its

outermost, or most abstract aspect. *M*, however, suggests that the right reading is not *summa*, but *summae*. The combination *summa rerum* is Lucretian, and is explained at length by Munro on Lucr. I. 1008. Observe that *summaest* may as well be *summae'st* as *summa est*.

IV. 623 :

innumeras gentes Taurumque minantem  
Fluctibus.

Taurum *Is.*, *Voss*; aurumque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; arcumque *G* et *plerique*.

A very distinct case for the superiority of *M* and *Voss*<sup>2</sup> over *G*: *arcumque* is meaningless. Equally wrong is *G* in 647 *in longo* against *in longum* of *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>; 659, *albanas* against *alpinas* of *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>.

IV. 650, 651 :

Altera sub medium solem duo bella ꝑper unde  
Intulit oceanus terris.

per inde *M* *potius quam* per unde.

*per inde* = *per inde* (Rossberg) is surely right. The ocean makes a *new* invasion of the earth, *corresponding* to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, in the Persian and Arabian Gulfs.

IV. 693, 694 is thus written in *M*:

Gallia per census Hispania maexima belli  
Italiam in summa, quam rerum maxima Roma  
Inposuit terris.

Observe that the first *maxima* (so *G* and the other MSS.) is spelt differently from the second, with an *e*, *maexima*; possibly pointing to a corruption. *Maximus* and *proximus* are confounded elsewhere, and may be here; *Hispania* perhaps is *Hispanis*—

Gallia per census Hispanis proxima belli.

‘Gaul nearest to Spain by its returns for war.’ The

objection that *Hispanis proxima* ought to mean nearest in position is removed by supposing this idea to be conveyed allusively. Gaul is nearest to Spain, as in place, so in military resources.

IV. 775:

In the preceding verses Manilius says Rome was founded under the sign of Libra, Rome the sovereign of the world. Then follows 775, thus written in *M*:

Qua (sc. Libra) genitus Caesarque meus nunc possidet orbem,

with which *Voss*<sup>2</sup> agrees, except that it has *Caesarique* and *condidit*. *G* and *Cus.* have

Qua genitus cum fratre Remus hanc condidit urbem.

In either form the verse is a palpable forgery, but I cannot see how it could have been forged by Gerbert, as Iacob supposes. Iacob explains it as an allusion to Otto III., Kaiser of Germany, whom the forger wished to flatter; but the verse exists in *G*, written in the tenth century, and was obviously copied, uniformly with the remainder of the poem, from an earlier MS. Moreover, its form in *G* could hardly be ascribed to flattery of a German Kaiser, speaking, as it does, merely of Romulus and Remus. The different shape it assumes in *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to attribute to an early correction of the false quantity *Remus hanc*, but this question, like so many in Manilius, can only be settled when we have a complete knowledge of the early MSS., especially of *L*.

IV. 800, 801, †*pisces uruptor*.

So *M*, *G* and most MSS. give *piscis uruptor*. All modern editors agree that the first words of this corruption are *pisce sub*; *M*, therefore, is a nearer approach to truth than *G* or the other early MSS. The same thing is true in 803, where *M* alone has *Parthis et*, *G* has *Parthi sed*, the Cusanus *Parthiset*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup> *Partiset*.

## IV. 841 sqq. :

Luna quibus defecit in astris  
 Orba sui fratris noctisque immersa tenebris  
 Cum medios Phoebi radios intercipit orbis  
 Nec trahit ad ꝑcoetum quo fulget Delia lumen.

ad caecum *G*, ad cetum *plerique*, in se tum *Scaliger*,  
*Bentl.*, ad se tum *Iacobus*, an in coitum ?

I cannot but believe that *coetum* of *M* represents here *coitum*. The *coitus lunae et solis* was a regular term in Roman astronomy, and is frequently found in Pliny, H. N. ii. 46, *in coitu quidem non cerni* (lunam) *quoniam haustum omnem lucis auersa illo regerat unde acceperit*; xvi. 190, *inter omnes uero conuenit utilissime in coitu eius sterni* (wood is felled), *quem diem alii interluni alii silentis lunae appellant* : xviii. 323, *in coitu* (erit luna), *quod interlunium uocant, cum apparere desierit* ; Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 30, *cuius* (lunae) *tenuissimum lumen facit proximus accessus ad solem, digressus autem longissimus quisque plenissimum*.

## V. 64, 65 :

Instar erit populi totaque habitabit in orbe  
 Limina peruolitans.

totaque *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup> ; totoque *G et plerique* ; orbe *omnes*.

Again a case where the fifteenth-century MSS. are nearer the truth than *G* and the early MSS. *All* give *orbe*, wrongly, but *G* completes the error by *totoque*. *M* and *Voss*<sup>2</sup> have *totaque*, a survival of truth obviously drawn directly from the archetype. I have shown in my *Noctes Manilianae*, p. 142, how often in the MSS. of our poet *orbis-i-em* stand for *urbis-i-em*.

## V. 101 :

Hic erit Heniochi surgens tibi forma ꝑconanda.

So *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup>, which is not a depravation of *canenda*, but of *sonanda*. This transitive use of *sonare* to declare a thing in verse is common enough. Hor. Epod. xvii. 39, *siue*

*mendaci lyra Voles sonari*; and often in Ovid, A. A. i. 206,  
*Et magno nobis ore sonandus eris.*

V. 260:

uiridemue in †germine collem.

This *germine* for *gramine* of *G* and most MSS. was conjecturally restored by Iacob, and must, I think, be right: see *Noct. Manil.* in loc.

V. 286, 287:

Et quia dispositis habitatur spica per artem  
 Frugibus †destructos similis componitur ordo.

286 habeatur *G*. 287 exstructos *G*; destructos *L*,  
*Voss*<sup>2</sup>; et structo *Bentl.* Perhaps ac structo.

I am not disposed to dismiss lightly so remarkable a v. l. as this strange *destructos*. It may be a corruption of *ac structo*—an elongated *a* was confused with *d*, and *c* with *e*.

V. 310, 311, are thus given in *M*:

Et pariter iuuenem somnoque ac morte leuauit  
 Tunc iterum nato et fatum per somnia raptem.

natum et fatum *G cum L et Cus.*; natum et fata *Voss*<sup>2</sup>  
*teste Iacobo*; natum et fato per s. raptum *Manilius*.

The poet is describing a father shooting a dart at a serpent that was lying on his sleeping son's face, thus killing the serpent and waking his son. Such a man ought to be born under the sign of the *Arrow*.

To be a Father then was Art, and Love,  
 By stars unaided, had but vainly strove;  
 They drew the Bow, restored the flying Breath  
 To the lost Boy, and wak'd the youth from Death.

CREECH.

Is not *M* here nearer the truth than *G*? At least, we can see how *natum et fato* might become *nato et fatum* more easily than *natum et futum*.

v. 322, 323, are thus written in *M* :

nec non lasciuit amoris  
In uarios ponetque forum suadetque lyaco.

amaris *G*, *Cus.* ; ponitque *G* ; lieo *G*.

This passage I have discussed in my *Noct. Manil.*, where I hope I have proved that *forum* is the dice-board. But whereas I there support Bentley's *suadente* for *suadetque*, I now think this is a corruption of *foetetque*. The change may have been caused by the initial *f* being mistaken for *s*, Mart. i. 28, 1, *Hesterno foetere mero* ; v. 41, *Foetere multo Myrtale solet uino*. So Hor. Epp. i. 19, 11, *Nocturno certare mero, putere diurno*.

v. 327, 328, are thus printed by Iacob after *G* and most MSS. :

Qua quondam fsonitumque ferens Oeagrius Orpheus  
Et sensus scopulis et siluis addidit aures.

somnumque *M* ; sonumque *Cus.* ; feris *Bentl.*

I may perhaps be permitted to take credit to myself for restoring (*Noct. Manil.* in loc.) by conjecture the right reading *somnumque*. If further proof is needed, I would cite v. 307, where *somnumque* has become *sonumque* in *M*, as here in *Cus.* Anthol. Graec. Append. ed. Cougny i. 197, Ὅρφέα . . . Ὅς θήρας καὶ δένδρα καὶ ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεηνὰ Φωνῇ καὶ χειρῶν κολίμισε ν ἁρμονίῃ = *somnum feris addidit*.

v. 363, 364 :

domibusue regendis  
Praepositi curas alieno limine claudant.

lumine *Voss*<sup>a</sup> ; limite *G*, *Cus.* et *plerique*.

Here *M* alone has preserved the right reading *limine*.

v. 496, 497 :

Ipse sibi lex est et qua fert cumque uoluntas  
Praecipitant uires : laus est contendere cuncta.

contenere *M an* contemnere ?

Cicero, Verr. ii. 2, 21, uses *omnia contendere* as the opposite of *aliquid remittere*, to strain every point, as opposed to making some abatement. Manilius, if *G* and most MSS. are right in giving *contendere cuncta*, does not mean this by the words, but to carry everything perforce, or by effort. Scaliger, while admitting this to be possible, did not believe it to come from Manilius, and conjectured *contendere contra*, a weak and improbable substitution. *M* suggests that the right word is *contemnere*, 'to make light of everything,' as easily surmountable, and not to be shirked as hard or dangerous.

V. 512 :

Gemmarumque ꝑub radiantes lucibus ignes.

So *M*. ab *Voss*<sup>2</sup> ; vib *G*. *M* here seems to support *G*, and both to point to *vibrant* (rather than *iubar*), as I have suggested, *Noct. Manil.* in loc.

V. 661 :

†Nec tibi contextas umbram fecere per alas.

Nec *G*, with *M* ; *Et* other MSS. ; an *Haec* ?

*Haec* seems very probable = *Hae*. Manil. is speaking of the *Halcyons* flying above the rock-chain'd *Andromeda*, and shading her with their wings. Our poet in this episode is competing with Ovid, *M.* iv. 671 sqq., and is likely to have done his best.

V. 566, 567 :

Ipsa levis flatu refouens pendentia membra  
Aura per extremas resonauit flebile rupes.

levis *M* ; leui *G* et *plerique*.

The nominative is very elegant, and saves the passage from being commonplace. The words are written in *M* so, *Ipsa levis flatu refouens*, i.e. probably exactly as they were in the archetype of *M* and *Voss*<sup>2</sup>. This point is most conspicuous in *M* all through, and forms an integral part of its value.

V 572, 573 :

Vixque manus . polium tenuit uictorque medusae  
Victus in Andromedae.

So *M. G* has *manu spoliū* and *in andromedē*. Which is nearer the truth ? I think *M. in andromedaē* is only one degree removed from *in andromeda ē* (*in andromeda est*). *G's andromedē* looks as if *andromedaē* or *andromedaē* had been further corrupted into *andromedē*. And *manus . polium* appears to me to point to a compound *manuspoliū* like *manupretium* and the less classical *manutigium*, *manutergium*. The increase of effect rhythmically thus gained to the verse is marked and undeniable. So in the Cambridge tenth-century MS. of *Aetna*, *luna . est* = *lunaest* (228).

v. 677, 678 :

Aut cum caeruleo stetit ipsa simillima ponto  
Squamigerum nubes turbaeque immobilis haeret.

turbaeque *M cum ceteris* ; turbaeque *Bentl.*

Bentley's correction seems to be unnecessary ; the fish are fastened immovably to the crowd in which they are wedged, and cannot escape ; *turbae* dat.

v. 687, 688, are thus written in *M*, *Voss*<sup>2</sup> :

tum demum suscipit undas  
†Aepaet ponto† per solem umore nitescit,

which is, I think, a depravation of *Aer et poto*. In *M aet* for *et* is found more than once : *poto* is Barth's conjecture. *Aer* is suggested by Iacob's *Aeris*. Manil. is describing how salt is manufactured from sea-water. When the brine has been drawn off into an open reservoir the air takes up the moisture, and, as this is absorbed by the sun's heat, reflects the colour of the white salt left in the reservoir. Or, if a change of nominative is possible, the subject to *nitescit* may be *campus* (685). I would not follow Iacob in altering

*demum s. undas* to *damnum s. unda*, a sweeping and violent change.

V. 725 :

Signaque transgressus mutat per tempora Phoebus.

trans gresuis *M*. Possibly *transgressus*, a genitive, depending on *signa*.

These are only *some* of the passages in which *M* must have an important effect, not only in constituting the text of Manilius, but for opening up again the difficult and intricate question of the comparative value of the MSS.

If I do not miscalculate the results even of my own limited researches, the overweening importance which some scholars of the highest eminence would fain attach to some *one* leading codex of any given author will be less readily accepted than it has been<sup>1</sup>.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

<sup>1</sup> A complete collation of the Madrid MS. will appear, I hope, in the *Classical Review* for 1893.

ADDENDUM ON I. 766.

If *Castra ducum et caeli* is retained, a possible explanation of it may be found in Isocr. Panathen. 88, where, speaking of the army brought together by Agamemnon, Isocrates says, στρατό-

πεδον γὰρ συνεληλυθὸς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἰκόσι, ὃ πολλοὺς εἶχεν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας. Then *Danaumque ad Pergama reges* would be explained by *Castra ducum et caeli*, 'the Danaan kings, that camp of chieftains heaven-born,' = that camp of chieftains that traced their lineage to the gods.

NOTES, CHIEFLY CRITICAL, ON THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES AND THE EPISTLES  
PREFIXED TO THEM.

(Continued from HERMATHENA, 1892, p. 160.)

HOMILY XVII. 8.

HERE is a curious chapter which I shall endeavour to translate exactly, noting the important words or phrases, following Lagarde, and rejecting Dressel's reading. Peter says: 'But some one will say if He has form, *μορφήν*, He has also figure, *σχῆμα*, and is in a place, *τόπος*; but being in place, and encompassed by it, as smaller, how is He great beyond all; and how can He be everywhere also, being in figure? To the person that speaks thus I have first to say, Simon persuades to believe such things about Him, but we know the true testimonies of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose command it is necessary to give you demonstrations that it is as we say. But first I shall speak about place and God. Place is the not-being, *τὸ μὴ ὄν*, but God the existing, *τὸ ὄν*. But the *μὴ ὄν* is not compared with the *ὄν*. For how can place be existing, *ὄν*; except there be a second space (*χώρα*, extension), such as heaven, earth, water, air, and if there is any other body which might fill its void, *τὸ κενόν*, which, on this account, is called void, *κενόν*, which is nothing; for this, nothing, *τὸ οὐδέν*, is its more fitting name; *τὸ γὰρ λεγόμενον κενὸν τί ποτε ὡς σκευὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἔχον;*' This sentence is translated in the Latin, *Nam quod dicitur inane instar est vasis quod nihil continet, præter ipsum vas vacuum*; thus connecting the succeeding words which

Lagarde rightly separates. This translation, after all, makes the void to be something, namely, a vessel, contrary to what was already said. I prefer to translate thus: 'For the so-called void how at all is it like a vessel containing nothing?' Then with Lagarde following 0 we proceed: 'But the vessel itself being empty is not itself a place, but in which is the void itself, since (or if, εἴπερ) it is a vessel. For there is all necessity that τὸ ὄν should be in τῷ μηδὲν ὄντι. But this τὸ μὴ ὄν, which by some is called place, I call nothing existing, οὐδὲν ὄν. But being nothing, how is it compared with the existing, τῷ ὄντι; ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὄν μὴ ᾖ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν τόπος λέγεται.' They are only comparable in contraries, what one is and the other is not. But I submit that the two clauses following ἵνα are not contraries, and the first is absurd. I take it we should for μὴ read πῃ, and that we should put the note of interrogation after ἐναντίοις, how are they compared except in contraries? 'So that τὸ ὄν should be somewhere, and the μὴ ὄν be called place.' He then goes on to say that even if it, *i.e.* place, is something, many examples offer themselves to him for demonstration, but he will use only one to show that what encompasses is not necessarily superior to that which is encompassed by it. The example is the sun which is encompassed by air, and yet performs such wonderful effects on the air itself, which it does by communication from itself, having its own substance compassed around. 'What then hinders that God as being Creator and Lord of this and all things, being Himself in figure and shape and beauty, should have the participation from Himself extended infinitely?'

## HOMILY XVII. 9.

He then proceeds: εἰς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ ὄντως θεός, ὃς ἐν κρείττονι μορφῇ περὶ καθέζεσθαι τοῦ ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω δις—ὑπάρχων καρδία. This δις is the reading of O; it is δεῖς in P. Both

are unmeaning. Instead of filling the lacuna of O, with Dressel, by reading *καθυπάρχων*, we should read *δίσκον*, which, I think, will commend itself once it is named—the heart of the upper and lower, the convex and concave, disk of heaven. We may compare Hippolytus, *εἰς τὰ ἀγ. θεοφάν.* line 9; ed. Lagarde, *τί γὰρ τοῦ οὐρανίου δίσκου πολυμορφώ-τερον κάλλος* ;

Out of the *δίσκ* and the lacuna Wieseler would make *δεσπότης*, and remove *καρδία*, which, he says, is inconsistent with a subsequent passage, to which I shall presently advert. The inconsistency, it will be seen, is due to a misplaced comma. Then follows: ‘And from Him, as from a centre, welling out its quickening and incorporeal power, there penetrates, *διῴκνῃται*, together with both stars and mansions (*μοναῖς* for *μόνοις*) of heaven, all parts of air, water, earth, fire, and if there is anything else, a substance, *οὐσία*, infinite in height, unlimited in depth, immeasurable in breadth, to a triple infinity, stretching forth the life-giving and wise nature that proceeds from Him.’

In this sentence the word *διῴκνῃται* has been justly substituted by Lagarde for *δείκνυται*, which appears in the MSS. and previous editions. This emendation for the unintelligible *δείκνυται* is ascribed to Uhlhorn, and is justified by the appearance of it on the margin of O for *δείκνυται* in the same connexion a few lines further on.

For *μόνοις οὐρανοῦ*, which is nonsense, Cotelarius proposed *νομοῖς*, regions or fields, adopted by subsequent editors. It would suffice to read *μορλοῖς*, used commonly for the divisions of the zodiac, or *μοίραις*, the word used by Sextus Empiricus for the same in an astrological connexion. But a lesser and, as I think, a more pertinent change will be to read *μοναῖς*, which, excepting the accentuation, would sound the same as *μόνοις*. It would be a likely synonym for *οἶκος*, or *οἰκητήριον*, used by the

astrologers for the zodiacal divisions, as mansions, or temporary dwellings of the planets. It is enough to mention Trebonius Sidetes, apud Suidam, who wrote *εἰς τοὺς πλανωμένων οἴκους καὶ διὰ ἐκάστη οἶκος ὁ δαίμων*. The words *σύν τε ἄστροις καὶ μοναῖς οὐρανοῦ* would thus have an astrological allusion meant for Faustus, a believer in nativity, and Annubion, a professed astrologer. These words are parenthetical, and the genitives following are to be construed with *τὰ πάντα*, 'all parts of air, water, earth, fire, and if there is anything else.' If we joined them with *οὐρανοῦ*, we should have 'all things, together with stars, &c., and if there is anything else,' which would be a counterpart of *de rebus omnibus et quibusdam aliis*. Whether with an astrological allusion or not, *μοναὶ οὐρανοῦ* might be a reminiscence of John xiv. 2.

Next follows, in Lagarde, *τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πανταχόθεν ἄπειρον ἀνάγκη εἶναι καρδίαν, ἔχον τὸν ὄντως ὑπὲρ πάντα ἐν σχήματι, ὃς ὅπου πύξ' ἂν ᾖ, ὡς ἐν ἀπείρῳ μέσος ἐστίν, τοῦ πάντος ὑπάρχων ὕψος*. It is from the way in which *καρδίαν* is thus identified with the emanation, that Wieseler objected to its application before to God. But Neander saw that the punctuation is wrong. The comma should be before, not after, *καρδίαν*, which is accusative on *ἔχον*. 'This then that proceeds from Him must be infinite in all directions, having for its heart Him that is truly above all in figure, who, wherever He be, is as middle in an infinite, being the limit of the universe.' He proceeds: 'From Him then beginning the extensions of six (*ἕξ* pro *ἕξ* of MSS.) illimitables have their nature; of which, one, taking its beginning from Him, pervades, *διῴκνείται*, to height above, another to depth beneath, another to right, another to left, another in front, another behind.' These six directions, mentioned by Plato, have reference of course to the human body, which was supposed to have been in likeness to God, said above to be ἐν σχήματι. He goes on to say: 'To which

having regard, as to a number even (or equal) in every direction, He completes the world in six temporal intervals, *χρονικοῖς διαστήμασι*, being Himself rest, and having as a likeness the infinite age that is to be, being beginning and end; for in Him the six infinities end, and from Him receive their extension to infinity.' The six directions here noted would be the axes of the six equal and similar solid angles into which space round a point may be divided by drawing lines indefinitely produced from the centre of a cube through its angles. Of the four other such possible equal and similar divisions of space round a point, none would correspond to the six directions from the human body here noted.

## HOMILY XVII. 10.

He goes on to say: 'This is the mystery of the hebdomad, for He himself is the rest of all, as, to those who imitate in little His greatness, He grants Himself for rest.' Thus we have a mystical interpretation of the creative week and sabbath. 'He is alone, now comprehensible, *καταληπτός*, now incomprehensible, now limited, now unlimited, having the extensions from Him to infinity. For He is comprehensible and incomprehensible, near and far off, being here and there *ὡς μόνος ὑπάρχων καὶ τοῦ πανταχόθεν ἀπείρου νοὸς τὴν μετουσίαν ἔχων, ἣν πάντων ἀναπνέουσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τὸ ζῆν ἔχουσιν*. Thus Lagarde. Dressel has spoiled the sentence by introducing, after Davies, *διὰ* before *τοῦ πανταχόθεν*. It makes nonsense without changing *ἔχων* into *ἔχειν*. The text is right as above. But perhaps we might read *ἐκχέων* for *ἔχων*. It seems weak to say that God has participation of infinite intelligence. The word *πανταχόθεν* favours this emendation. Here the word *μετουσία* would have its proper sense, participation. He goes on to say, that 'if they are separated from the body, and should be found to have a longing for Him, they are carried into

His bosom, *ὡς ἐν χειμῶνι ὥρας*, the vapours of the mountains drawn by the rays of the sun are carried to it immortal.' Here Schwegler would read *χειμῶνος ὥρα*. But surely it is not during the storm that the vapours are drawn by the sun. The text is correct, 'an hour's storm,' after which the sun comes out with great heat.

## HOMILY XVII. 12.

In the preceding chapter Peter maintained the necessity of fearing God against those who said we ought to love Him instead of fearing. He seems to have specially in view 1 John iv. 18 and S. Paul's teachings, for he attacks S. Paul through the person of Simon. He says, perhaps it might be rightly said we ought not to fear God, if men did not fear many other things, such as plots by other men, wild beasts, diseases, demons, and ten thousand other causes of dread. If he cannot deliver us from these fears, why does he grudge us by one fear towards the righteous and just God, to be relieved from all others? In the present chapter he begins, *οὕτως ἢ πρὸς τὸν οὕτως δεσπότην ἐγγνώμων δουλεία τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἐλευθέρους τίθησιν*. This is manifestly corrupt. Various changes in regard to the word *λοιπούς* have been proposed. The true remedy was not thought of, namely, to borrow from the preceding words the preposition *πρὸς* before *τοὺς λοιπούς*. Being servants towards the real Lord, makes us free towards all others, whether tyrants, demons, or false gods. He concludes the chapter by saying, 'he that teaches to be without fear does not himself fear; he that does not fear and does not believe that there will be judgment, will increase his desires, practises magic, falsely accuses others of what he does himself.'

## HOMILY XVII. 13.

Simon here interrupts Peter, says he knows against whom he says this, but will not waste time in answering

it, Peter having professed to make his answers in reference to the questions that had been defined ; ‘alleging that you have adequately understood the words of your teacher, διὰ τὸ παρόντα ἐναργείᾳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ, and that it was not possible for another ὁράματι ἢ ὀπτασίᾳ to have the like.’ Here the discussion turns on the question between S. Paul’s knowledge by vision, and Peter’s by living communication with our Lord and direct revelation. Simon says he will show that the allegation is false. ‘He that clearly, ἐναργῶς, hears anyone, is not altogether assured about the things spoken. For his understanding may consider that, perhaps, what has appeared may lie, or is deceived, being a man ; ἡ δὲ ὀπτασία ἅμα τῷ ὀφθῆναι πλίστιν παρέχει τῷ ὁρῶντι ὅτι θεότητος ἐστίν. Answer me this first.’ Here Lagarde is right in rejecting ὀφθέντι, which is given by O. But he is, I think, wrong in adopting ἐναργείᾳ for the ἐνεργείᾳ of Cot. and O. The error arises from the use of the adverb ἐναργῶς which has its proper sense, hearing distinctly, but is quite out of place in the question between hearing in a vision and from bodily presence, for in both the hearing may be distinct. The word ἐνέργεια is frequently used to denote reality, as distinguished from potentiality, or imagination. Peter, present with our Lord, had heard him in reality. We shall see that this applies also to the sequel.

## HOMILY XVII. 14.

Peter, in reply, says Simon had proposed to speak of one thing, but had answered about another : προέτεινας γὰρ ὡς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι τινα πλείον νοεῖν . . . παρ’ ὀπτασίας ἀκούοντα, ἢ γὰρ παρὰ τῆς ἐναργείας . . . ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ ἔπειθεις ἡμᾶς ὅτι ἀσφαλέστερός ἐστιν ὁ ὑπὸ ὀπτασίας ἀκούων τοῦ παρ’ αὐτῆς ἐναργείας ἀκούοντος. The question was of fuller understanding, the answer of greater certainty. The first dots in this sentence mark a blank line in O. As there is

no vacancy in P and the sense is complete, it was an oversight of the copyist. There is also no vacancy in P where the last dots appear. They denote the absence of a single word, and were, I think, occasioned by the preceding γάρ, which has no meaning and should be omitted. In both places we should retain the *ἐνεργείας* of P. 'One would rather be able to understand more, hearing from a vision, than from a reality,' and again, 'one that hears from reality itself.' Later on we have again, *περὶ τῶν ἐναργῶς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων*, where this adverb is rightly used for distinctly, and has its proper sense, not to be confounded with that of *ἐνέργεια*, to the corruption of which it has contributed.

## HOMILY XVII. 18.

Immediate revelation is what Peter claims for himself as distinguished from vision, display, or dreams. He knows what it is, for when our Lord asked whom men said that He was, while others made various replies, it came into his heart, he knew not how, to say, thou art the son of the living God, and our Lord told him that the Father had revealed it to him. Thenceforward he knew, that to have learned without being taught, without vision or dreams, was revelation. He then gives the rationale of this: *ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τεθείσῃ σπερματικῶς . . . πᾶσα ἔνεστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια, θεοῦ δὲ χειρὶ σκέπεται καὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται, τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου εἰδότος*. The small lacuna here noted has no existence in P. Dressel filled it after Schliemann with *καρδίᾳ*. But a heart spermatically inserted is pure nonsense. If anything is wanted it is *ἀληθεία*, but it may be understood. 'All truth is contained in the truth spermatically put into us, but is covered, or uncovered, by God's hand, He that works in us knowing the desert of each.'

## HOMILY XVII. 19.

Peter says that Simon had accused him, in order that his teaching of what God had revealed to him might not be believed, *δηλον ὅτι ὡς ἐμοῦ καταγνωσθέντος καὶ ἐμοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος*. To make sense of this we should have to translate καὶ by 'although,' which is here scarcely admissible. Schwegler and Dressel propose to put *μὴ* after ἐμοῦ. This is boastful and unsatisfactory. Lagarde has boldly left the MSS., and reads for his text *ἀδοκίμον ὄντος*, referring to 1 Cor. ix. 27, where S. Paul says, 'lest after I have preached to others *αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι*.' But the disapproval there is on God's part in the final judgment. Here it is repute as a teacher that is spoken of. I think the proper change would be to read for καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ σοῦ. For καταγνωσθέντος we have immediately after κατεγνωσμένου, and the reference is plainly to the τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, and κατεγνωσμένης of Gal. ii. 2, 11. The ἐμοῦ was repeated from the preceding words by copyist.

## HOMILY XVII. 20.

At the close Simon says he was not ignorant of what he ought to know. Why he asked, as if in order to learn, was, *ἵνα εἰδῶ εἰ δύνασαι ὁπτασίας ἐνάργειαν ἐναργεστέραν δεῖξαι*. Here again we have the same confusion. P. has ὁπτασίαν ἐνεργείας, which is a clear copyist's error in transposing the final ς and ν. O has ἐνάργειαν, but on the margin ἵς. ὁπτασίας ἐνεργειαν. It is quite plain that the meaning is, 'If you are able to show that a reality is clearer than a vision.' That 'clearness is clearer than vision' is absurd.

## HOMILY XVIII. 2.

Peter says, *ἐγὼ φημι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν παρεκτικόν, οἷον κ.τ.λ.* There is no real deficiency here, τὸν παρεκτικόν is intelligible by itself, and Lagarde has added nothing, but notes

that there is a lacuna in O. Dressel filled this by *ἐν τοιοῦτοις*, which is very poor. If anything is wanted, it should be *ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν*, illustrated by the Creator making the sun to shine on the just and unjust. In the sequel we have *τῷ μὲν πᾶσιν παρέχων, διαφόροις δὲ χαρίζεσθαι τὸ δίκαιον αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν ἐστιν*. Wieseler is right in thinking that we should read *διαφόρως*. If it meant to grant to all, but to favour the better, we should have *τοῖς διαφόροις*. The meaning is, 'by affording to all, but by granting his favours in a different degree, or manner, his justice is good.'

## HOMILY XVIII. 4.

We read thus in Lagarde, *δοτις κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, οἱ εἰσῆλθον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οἱ εἰσιν ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄρια τῶν ἐθνῶν περιγράφας γλώσσαις ἑβδομήκοντα κ.τ.λ.* All the editions put a comma after the first *ἑβδομήκοντα*. This makes the sentence obscure, and leaves *περιγράφας* without an object. The LXX makes the number that came into Egypt seventy-five. Read *ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πρὸς*, with the comma after *πρὸς*, seventy and a trifle more.

## HOMILY XVIII. 5.

We have now a scene between Peter and Simon. Simon had propounded the novel theory, that the Demiurge was the Son of the Father, Most High, that this Son was appointed to be the God of the Hebrews, that no one knew the Father in secret, nor that the Demiurge, who was the father of Christ, was son to the unknown Most High, and that Peter not knowing him to be his son, had attributed to him the proper attributes of the unknown Most High. Peter asks, can he swear by that same God that he believes this, not the God he talked of as in secret,

but the God whom he really believed but would not confess. If he was only laying down one doctrine for another he was trifling. If he really believes what he says, Peter will answer him. If he is only saying for argument's sake what he does not believe, he is only making him beat a void. Simon then says, as in Lagarde, *παρὰ τινός τῶν σῶν μαθητῶν ἀκήκοα . . . καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἔφη, μὴ ψευδομαρτύρει.* In P there is no lacuna, nor is anything necessary. Peter will not let him finish the sentence, but interrupts him before he has finished. I fancy the void in O, the extent of which is not specified, should be represented by a dash. Dressel has filled it by *ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρισθῆναι*, thus spoiling the dramatic character of the passage. Simon replies, 'Do not rail at me, O most precipitate.' Peter says, 'Until you tell who told you, you are a liar.' Simon says, 'Suppose I invented these things, or heard them from another, answer to them.' Here he speaks of the previous theory, not the assertion that he heard it from one of Peter's disciples, evading that question. He adds, 'For if they cannot be refuted, I have learned that the truth is this.' Peter replies, 'If it is a human fabrication I do not answer to it. But if you have been possessed by a supposition of its truth, confess that this is the case, and I have also myself something to say about it.' Simon at last says, 'Once for all, it seems to me to be so. If you have anything to say against it, answer.' But in ch. 11, when he has got the worst of the discussion, he excuses himself by saying: 'what one advocates in a genuine way has great force, hence for the rest, I will say what I really think.'

## HOMILY XVIII. 9.

As the discussion proceeded Peter had made a point against Simon, and there was an applause by the hearers at which Simon blushed and rubbed his forehead. He

says: 'they call me a magician vanquished by Peter and outreasoned. But it is not because a person has been outreasoned and caught in a snare that he has the truth that is in him vanquished.' He then adds: οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ ἐκδικοῦντος ἀλήθειά ἐστι τοῦ νικωμένου. That the last word of this is wrong is evident. The Latin translator assumes it to have been νικῶντος, superantis. Schwegler suggests νικηφόρου, which would scarcely have been corrupted into νικωμένου. Wieseler would prefer the νικῶντος of the Latin, or νικοποιοῦ, a conjecture quite like Wieseler. But it has not been noticed that ἐκδικοῦντος is here used in a forensic sense. In later Greek it denoted one who made a claim. There was a public officer called ἐκδικος, who preferred claims on behalf of the Government. Here it would be equivalent to the plaintiff in person or by his advocate. We should, therefore, expect a corresponding forensic term opposed to it. If we read διωκόμενον, the defendant, it would have been likely to have become νικωμένου from the νικώμενον, and νενικημένην immediately preceding.

Presently Simon says, as Lagarde prints, σὺ αὐτοῖς διὰ φθόνον ἐμοὶ τῷ εὐεργετεῖν αὐτοῖς θέλονται χαλεπαίνειν. This is the reading of P. In O it is χαλεπαίνεις, but Lagarde says the line seems incomplete. If we read the infinitive we must add θέλεις, and take this verb in the less usual sense of 'irritate.' In any case we must change the first αὐτοῖς. Cotelerius reading χαλεπαίνεις against his MS. makes it αὐτός. If we read the infinitive transitive, we must make it αὐτούς. 'You wish to make them angry with me who desire to confer a benefit on them.'

#### HOMILY XVIII. II.

Simon says: 'It contributes much to victory for the person contending to use his own weapons. For what one likes, and vindicates in a genuine way, being in a genuine

way vindicated, has great force. Wherefore, for the rest, I shall put forward what I really think.' Here we have ἐκδικεῖν and ἐκδικούμενον, as above. I have used the word 'vindicate' in a forensic sense.

## HOMILY XVIII. 12.

Simon having now stated what he alleged to be his real opinion, Peter calls all to witness that even what he has now said is not his real opinion or belief; he knows what Simon thinks, and that he should not suppose he was speaking falsely, he says, αἰνίζομαι τὰ σά. He then says: 'We do not allege that from the great power, and so-called supreme, κυρίας, two angels were sent, one for the creation of the world, and one for the giving of the law—nor that each, when he came, announced himself as being himself of self-authority, αὐθεντης, in regard to what he did—οὐδὲ ὁ ἑστῶς στησόμενος ἀντικείμενος. Learn how you disbelieve even this hypothesis.' The third particular, given in Greek, as Lagarde observes, is apparently incomplete. Efforts have been made to complete it, but it was not meant to be complete; it was only intended to be a hint to Simon. He had declared himself to be the ἑστῶς στησόμενος, and to be the adversary of the Demiurge. 'This great secret power you speak of is full of ignorance, for he did not foreknow the ingratitude of the angels sent by him.' Simon interrupts him in a rage, asks him why he trifles, and calls him most audacious and precipitate thus incautiously to reveal secrets to an unlearned multitude.

## HOMILY XVIII. 14.

Against the supposition that the patriarchs had not known the Father, Peter asks how was it not most unjust that they, the seven pillars of the world, able to please the most righteous God, should not have known, while so many now of the Gentiles, ungodly men, should have full knowledge imparted to them—that οὗτοι παντὸς κρείττονες,

γνώναι οὐ κατηξιώθησαν; In these words κρείττονος is the reading of P., κρείττονως of O., and Cotelierius made it κρείττονες. I think Lagarde is right in giving it as above. The place of a definite article is supplied by παντὸς, and γνώναι must be taken substantively—‘these were not thought worthy of all better knowledge.’

## HOMILY XVIII. 22.

Peter said that people had not known the Father, because they erred believing the books really written against God for our trial; hence our Lord had said, that ‘on this account ye do err not knowing the true parts of the Scriptures, whence also ye do not know the power of God.’ Here we see how the writer takes advantage of representing Peter as quoting our Lord’s words from his own personal reminiscence, to give them such a turn as best suited his own views. He adds that, for this reason, our Lord had advised his disciples to be ‘approved money changers,’ that they might be able to discern the spurious that were mixed up with the genuine parts of the Scripture. At this Simon affects to be shocked, says he will listen to him no longer; he ought to have gone away when he heard him say, ‘that he would believe none who spoke against the Creator, not angels, nor prophets, nor scriptures, nor priests, nor teachers, nor any one else, even if one wrought signs and wonders, even if he evidently lightened in the air, or revealed by visions or by dreams.’ Peter bids him go away if he likes, but tells him to listen to something more first. He then uses the words which I have already remarked on in the observations preliminary to the 1st Homily as proving that the author imitated the work of Justin Martyr against Marcion. It is unnecessary to repeat here what I have said.

The notes on the two last books of the Homilies have been already printed in HERMATHENA for 1889.

J. QUARRY.

## SOPHOCLEA.

THE problem of criticism, especially as applied to the Greek poets, generally resolves itself into an effort to define the limits of the elasticity of the Greek language, and to mark where ease of style ends and licentiousness begins. Some critics think that when they have shown that an expression cannot be brought into conformity with the strictest grammatical code it must be corrupt; others again use vague words like *influence* instead of *govern*, and seem to think there is no limit to be set to the caprice and licence of the Greek style. The latter habit of mind has been largely exhibited by writers on the recently discovered mimes of Herondas, who, though they have admirably restored the text in many places, and have indeed well vindicated the commanding position of the British School in the art of emendation, have in at least as many places asked us to accept as possible in Greek expressions which they should have corrected or obelised as hopelessly corrupt. The former school has its chief representative in Nauck,<sup>1</sup> who in exacting scrupulous conformity to *norma* is as rigorous as the critic in Persius, who insisted that each joining should allow the critic's nail to pass over it as smoothly as if it were water, should, in his ridiculously affected phrase, 'spill over its surface the critical nail.'<sup>2</sup> It has now in Prof. A. E. Housman so able a disciple that I would ask leave to make a few comments on certain conjectures of his on the Oedipus Coloneus of

<sup>1</sup> This Paper was written just before the sad news reached Dublin of the death of the veteran critic, to whom Classical Scholarship owes so much.

<sup>2</sup>

Ut per leve severos  
*Effundat iunctura ungues.*

—PERS. i. 64.

Sophocles, chiefly with the view of trying to persuade a scholar, to whom we owe so many acute and admirable emendations of the Greek and Latin poets, not to put on his shoulders the Nauckian yoke, but to walk rather in the path of the great English School of classical criticism.

On the celebrated passage Oed. Col. 266, 267,

ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἔργα μου  
πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα,

Prof. Housman writes, 'As long as these verses stand in every edition of Sophocles as they stand above I hardly comprehend why the editors should alter the MS. reading anywhere. Once let me steel myself to endure *ἔργα πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα*, and the scribes might do their worst: I could always murmur *τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης*.' He then goes on to argue, with much learning and much command of language, that the expression, which he insists on translating *my deeds have suffered rather than acted*, is quite intolerable in itself, and is not borne out by any of the passages quoted in justification of it. Now it seems to me, as to all the editors of Sophocles up to the present date, that the words admirably express that sense which Prof. Housman and all editors demand, namely, that of the Shakspearean parallel always quoted by the commentators,

'I am a man more sinn'd against than sinning';

and I should be very unwilling to admit that we must either alter this verse or abandon criticism altogether. I would render literally, if called on so to do, '*my career has been one-of-being-acted-on rather than one-of-acting* : *πάσχειν* is *to be acted on* ; it is the Lucretian *fungi* as opposed to *facere*. In prose one would say *ἐγὼ πεπονθώς εἰμι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακώς*; in poetry, *τὰ ἔργα μου*, *my activities*, *my works*, *my career*, may quite well take the place of *ἐγώ*, though of course an absolutely literal rendering of each word may make it seem

ludicrous. But what does Prof. Housman give us for the words which he condemns?

ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἔργα με  
πεπονθότ' ἴσθι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

Now I feel confidence that I shall have the assent of nearly every student of Sophocles, except Prof. Housman, when I say that this reading not only removes all beauty from the passage but introduces an expression which no Greek writer would have used, and no modern editor ought to accept. For what is the meaning of τὰ γ' ἔργα πέπονθα? 'Deeds I have experienced'; and the whole passage would run 'deeds be sure that I have experienced rather than done.' I do not know in what sense a man could be said πάσχειν ἔργα except as being the object of another man's action, and I think this meaning could be expressed well in a variety of ways, and could hardly be expressed worse than by the words attributed by this conjecture to Sophocles. For it must be remembered that πάσχειν is a *vox media*, and εἰ πάσχειν is quite as common as κακῶς πάσχειν. The result then is: Sophocles, in using for *my case, my career*, the expression τὰ γ' ἔργα μου, has suggested finely that what seemed to be the acts of Oedipus was really the irresistible force of circumstances. Prof. Housman's reading, which could not convey more than 'know that I have experienced (other men's) acts rather than acted myself,' is a mere truism, and would be as true of most men as of Oedipus; there are few whose lives have not taken their colour rather from the society and environment in which they are placed than from their own initiative action.

Another passage in this play may be connected with the foregoing, as involving the use of πάσχειν and possibly of ἔργα. In vv. 515, 516 the right reading undoubtedly is

μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοίξης  
τῆς σῆς ἀ πέπονθ' ἀναιδῆ.

The unmetrical τᾱς σᾱς πέπονθ' ἔργ' ἀναιδῇ arose from the desire of the copyist to supply an antecedent to ἀ, and ἔργα was the most likely word to occur to him. Prof. Housman writes that it is 'too preposterous that he should describe his parricide and incest as *shameless treatment* which he has received.' But ἀ πέπονθ' ἀναιδῇ does not mean 'my shameful treatment,' but 'my cruel experiences.' His *experiences, fate, career*, are almost personified when the word ἀναιδῇ, 'unfeeling,' is applied to them; but not more than 'the brute stone' is personified by Homer in the well-known passage in the Odyssey when it is called ἀναιδής because it does not feel for the sufferings of Sisyphus; or ἑλπίς by Pindar, in Nem. xi. 46, when he writes

δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδέι  
ἐλπιδι γνῖα,

'Our bodies are thralls of merciless ambition,'

merciless because, like 'Grace' in the hymn, she 'will not let us go.' Ἔργα was very probably inserted by a copyist who remembered

τά γ' ἔργα μου  
πέπονθ' ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα,

and if it were genuine here it would have the same meaning as in that passage. Prof. Housman in proposing

τᾱς σᾱς ἀ πέπονθ' ἐναργῇ

provides ἀνοίξῃς with a quite superfluous predicative adjective, and deprives ἀ of a sorely needed descriptive epithet.

Nauck, and those who have followed him, have done yeoman's service to classical criticism in those cases where the text really requires emendation; lucky is he who having hit on a brilliant and really necessary correction does not find that Nauck has been before him. But

when the text calls not for emendation but for sympathetic apprehension, then it is that the Nauckians lead us astray; then it is that the graceful ease of Greek poetry is mistaken for awkwardness and subjected to ugly artificial restraints.

Thus in Oed. Col. 1204 Sophocles puts into the mouth of Oedipus a characteristically beautiful expression hard to analyse, but harder to misapprehend,

*βαρείαν ἡδονὴν νικᾷτέ με  
λέγοντες.*

The phrase is perfectly explained by Prof. Jebb, who seldom if ever errs in questions depending on a subtile aesthesis, and a sure sense of the limits of the elasticity of Greek. He renders it 'tis sore for me, this pleasure that ye win from me by your pleading'; *βαρείαν* refers to Oedipus, *ἡδονήν* to his daughters. Prof. Housman says the plain meaning of these words is 'ye conquer me by mentioning a calamitous self-gratification, *i.e.* the indulgence of Oedipus' angry temper, to which Antigone attributes his misfortunes.' This rendering again robs the passage of its grace; indeed it seems well-nigh impossible that Oedipus should here refer to bygone outbursts of angry passion as 'a calamitous self-gratification.' Nor does Prof. Housman seem to accept willingly such a sentiment, for he goes on to say, 'but I have little doubt that what Sophocles wrote was the much simpler and apter *βαρείαν πημονήν*.' The words will then mean, 'ye vanquish me by the heavy affliction ye recall'; and we have again a platitude instead of a choice sentiment, for the loss which we may console ourselves by the reflection that we have a sentence which we can construe quite easily without any knowledge of Sophoclean style, or feeling for the niceties of language.

'Withering on the virgin thorn' is more easily understood than analysed; but I should not approve of correcting

to (let us say) 'withering as a virgin worn.' Nauckian criticism would certainly read *swell'd* for *swill'd* when the Lady says in *Comus*,

'I should be loth  
To meet the rudeness and swill'd insolence  
Of such late wassailers';

and would probably change *huddling* to *bubbling* in

'Thyrsis whose artful strains have oft delayed  
The huddling brook to hear his madrigal.'

*Blind mouths* in *Lycidas* tried by such a touchstone would hardly be worth ten years' purchase, not to speak of the two thousand and odd years which the ἔργα πεπονθότα of Sophocles have survived. By a fortunate coincidence Milton, that potent conjuror with language, that wizard who wields words with a free mastery only second to that of Sophocles, has used in *Comus* an expression which exactly justifies a verse of Sophocles impugned by Prof. Housman, who condemns the phrase τῇ νόσῳ θ' ὑπερτεῖν, Oed. R. 217, on the ground that remedial measures do not minister to disease but to the removal of it. Here is the passage (*Comus*, 842):—

'Still she retains  
Her maiden gentleness, and oft at eve  
Visits the herds along the twilight meadows,  
*Helping* all urchin blasts and ill-luck signs,  
That the shrewd meddling elf delights to make,  
Which she with pretious vial'd liquors heals.'

Prof. Housman will retort 'if Milton was inaccurate that is no reason why we should ascribe a similar failing to Sophocles.' But it seems to me more practical to ask, 'if Milton deals with English as a poet, and writes *helping* when he might have easily written *healing* or half-a-dozen

other words, why should we deny to Sophocles the same privilege of modifying in poetry the idiom of prose ?'

In 527, 528 :

ἡ ματρόθεν ὥς ἀκούω  
δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπλήσω ;

I cannot see why ἐπλήσω should be 'grotesque,' unless it should unhappily suggest to a spirit of levity some such picture as Juvenal's *lectica Mathonis Plena ipso* ; and I am surprised that Prof. Housman, who so well knows all the uses of πίμπλημι and its compounds, should be offended by what is really a *verbum exquisitum*. On the other hand, Nauck's ἐπάσω seems a far too formal word, and suggests a marriage contract signed, sealed, and delivered. But what is most puzzling to me is to guess why so excellent a scholar as Prof. Housman thinks that he has improved the sense by reading πατρόθεν for ματρόθεν, and how he has persuaded himself that πατρόθεν λέκτρα could mean 'his father's widow,' unless πατρόθεν can take the place of πατρός ; and if it can, then ματρόθεν = ματρός, and ματρόθεν λέκτρα means 'thy mother's bed,' and there is no difficulty in the passage. But I do not believe that ματρόθεν = ματρός, and I feel sure that Nauck's ματέρος cannot be right, as it would never have been changed to ματρόθεν. I agree with Prof. Housman, that ματρόθεν λέκτρα cannot mean 'thy mother's bed,' and it plainly does not mean 'a wife borne by thy mother.' In this desperate case I would suggest that Sophocles here used for once a more decided epicism than ματέρος, namely, ματρόφιν = ματέρος as Simonides seems to have used τεκνύφι for τέκνου in 37 (50) 19. The form is justified by κοτυληδονόφι, κράτεσφι.<sup>1</sup>

Of some of the excellent conjectures of Prof. Housman I feel sure Prof. Jebb will see the merit, and that he will at least mention them, if he does not adopt them, in his

<sup>1</sup> Cp. ἔμμεν in Ant. 622, a form unparalleled in the Drama.

next edition. I refer specially to his *μή που* for *μή οὐχ* in 360; his punctuation of 981,

σοῦ γ' ἐς τόδ' ἐξελθόντος, ἀνόσιον στόμα;

his transposition of 1028–1033 to follow 1019; and his arrangement of 1250 ff. I ask leave to draw Prof. Housman's attention to a conjecture published several years ago in *HERMATHENA*, vol. i., p. 362, by the late Prof. Davies, which has not, I think, met with due recognition. In 1514 he proposed

πόλλ' αἶ τε βρονταὶ διατελεῖς,

understanding *δηλοῦσι* (which would govern *πολλά*) from the foregoing verse. This is, I think, better than Prof. Housman's *Δῖαί τε*.

I have referred so far only to the article in the *American Journal of Philology*. In the English magazine of the same name Prof. Housman has published a number of conjectures, of which the following strike me as being particularly worthy of consideration, if not of acceptance. *Ajax* 801 runs awkwardly,

καθ' ἡμέραν  
τὴν νῦν, ὅτ' αὐτῷ θάνατον ἢ βίον φέρει.

Prof. Housman reads

καθ' ἥλιον  
τὸν νῦν, ὅς

comparing Eur. El. 654 and Hel. 652 for the poetical use of *ἥλιος* for *ἡμέρα*. In Soph. El. 931, for *πρὸς τάφον κτερίσματα* he reads *πρόσφατα κτερίσματα*; in Oed. R. 1505, for *μὴ σφε περιδῆς* he proposes *μή σφε δὴ παρῆς*, and in *Ajax* 1310 he reads *γάλω* for *λέγω*, striking out the previous line, so that the passage runs:

ἐπεὶ καλὸν μοι τοῦδ' ὑπερπονουμένῳ  
θανεῖν προδήλως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς σῆς γάλω.

Oed. R. 598 is prettily corrected to

τὸ γὰρ τυχεῖν σοῦ, τοῦθ' ἅπαν ἐνταῦθ' ἐνι,

the usage of τυχεῖν, 'to gain one's ear,' being paralleled by Eur. Hipp. 328,

μείζον γὰρ ἢ σοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν τί μοι κακόν;

and Aesch. Suppl. 161,

μὴ τυχοῦσαι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

In the difficulties which I have been considering the question is as to the limits within which confessed liberty may range. The answer to *quatenus*? is always hard, and a certain school is disposed to vary it by an impatient *quousque*? It is comparatively easy to answer the question *quomodo*?, and to correct the Greek text into conformity with hard and fixed rules. Prof. Jebb's Sophocles seems to me to give countless proofs of his rare sagacity in deciding what falls within the possible limits of a Greek expression, and what falls outside. The very excellence of his work breeds antagonism. He so often convinces us even against our will, that we like to think that there are points in which we are uninfluenced by him. Moreover, the feeling that prompts the knight-errant to touch with his lance the Templar's shield is deeply engrafted in man, and would specially influence one so brave and so skilful as Prof. Housman in the jousts of the critical tournament. It will be long before the trumpet of the Ivanhoe will be heard.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

P.S.—In further defence of *ματρόφιν*, I would add another epicism used (like *ἔμμεν*) only by Sophocles, and only once by him; I mean *ἀείρομ'* in Trach. 216, an epic elision unexampled elsewhere in Tragedy.

But perhaps it is better, all things being considered, to avoid the main difficulty by taking *ματρόθεν* *δυσώνυμα* together.—R. Y. T.

AN ANCIENT PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF THE  
*LACHES* OF PLATO.

THE text here printed is a fragment of Plato's *Laches* (190 B sqq.) which I found among the Petrie papyri last summer, and therefore long after the printing of the *Phædo* fragments in this journal. Both pieces of papyrus, on which five consecutive columns appear, were covered with white mud, and painted, so that the clearing of the surface and the recovery of the text were a work of no small difficulty. Both quality of papyrus and hand differ widely from those of the *Phædo*; but though the present scribe was far inferior, there is no reason to question the great antiquity of the writing. The orthography, as Professor Diels corroborates, points to about 300 B.C.; nor is it likely that the document is much later in date. Palæographically, there are no peculiarities pointing to a more recent date. We have the Θ with the central dot, the square Ε, so written as to be very like Ξ; a very flat-topped Υ, almost like a Τ; the Ν constantly Γ; most strange of all is the frequent -Ο- for Ω.

There are no diacritical marks save the paragraph line; but at the beginning of almost each line there is a small vertical stroke to mark where the writer should begin. This stroke is worked into the first letter, if it begins with such a stroke; otherwise it stands immediately before the first letter, and at first puzzled me in the deciphering.

The value of this ancient text is already a matter of controversy, and will not be discussed here. Most general readers will think the variations very trifling, and not affecting the general sense; but they are quite sufficient to indicate a difference of *redaction* which may be very important in the history of the text.

The foot and head of some of the columns are eaten through with worms and so destroyed. An autotype fac-simile will be given in my forthcoming vol. ii. of the Petrie Papyri.

My friends, Professors Gomperz of Vienna, Blass of Halle, and Diels of Berlin, have looked through this copy, and so far as it can be relied upon, have corroborated the general conclusions at which I had arrived, and have suggested some new ones. But it must be remembered that the publication of the autotype may lead to some further corrections. The transcription herewith published has been verified both by Dr. Bernard and Mr. Bury, so that it does not rest upon my single judgment.

## L

*About six lines lost.*

(p. 190, B.).

ΟΥΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΓΕ Υ  
 ΠΑΡΧ[ε]ΙΝ ΔΕΙ ΤΟ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ  
 ΤΙ ΠΟΤ ΕΣΤ<sup>ιν</sup> ΑΡΕΤ<sup>η</sup> ΕΙ  
 ΓΑΡ ΠΟΥ ΜΗΔΕ ΑΡΕΤΗΝ  
 ΕΙΔΕΙΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΠΑΝ 5  
 ΟΤΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΥΓΧΑΝΕΙ ΟΝ  
 ΤΙΝ ΑΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΞΥΜΒΟΥΛΟΙ ΓΕΝΟΙΜΕΘ ΑΝ  
 ΟΤΩΙΟΥΝ ΟΠΩΣ ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΛ  
 ΛΙΣΤΑ ΑΝ ΚΤΗΣΑΙΤΟ ΟΥ 10  
 ΔΕΝ ΕΜΟΙΓΕ ΔΟΚΕΙ Ω ΣΩ  
 ΚΡΑΤΕΣ—ΦΑΜΕΝ ΑΡΑ  
 ΑΥΤΟ Ω ΛΑΧΗΣ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ Ο  
 ΤΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ—ΟΥΚΟΥΝ Ο ΓΕ ΙΣ  
 ΜΕΝ ΚΑΝ ΕΙΠΟΙΜΕΝ ΔΗ 15  
 ΠΟΥ ΤΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ—ΠΩΣ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ—  
 ΜΗ ΤΟΙΝΥΝ Ω ΑΡΙΣΤΕ ΠΕΡΙ  
 ΟΛΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΥΘΕΩΣ ΣΚΟ  
 ΠΩΜΕΘΑ ΠΛΕΟΓ ΓΑΡ ΙΣΩΣ  
 ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΤΙ 20  
 ΝΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΙΔΩΜΕΝ  
 ΕΙ ΙΚΑ<sup>ν</sup>ΩΣ ΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ  
 ΤΟ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΙΝ ΩΣ  
 ΤΟ ΕΙΚΟΣ ΡΑΙΩΝ Η ΣΚΕΨΙΣ  
 ΕΣΤΑΙ Α . . ΟΙ? ΟΥΤΩ ΠΟΙΩΜΕΝ 25  
 Ω ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡ? ΒΟΥΛΕΙ

*Foot of column.*

## I.

There is enough papyrus above the first line to show two higher lines ; but by an unfortunate folding down of the sheet they have been completely wiped out through contact with some hostile substance. The end of the paragraph line immediately preceding is still visible above on the right.

7-10] The repetition of *av* is remarkable. In 7 it had been inserted by Bekker, as necessary ; in 8 it is added phonetically ; in 10 it is placed two words later than in our other texts.

11] *ουδεν* by mistake for *ουδενα*.

13] *αυτο* comes three words earlier than in our texts.

14] *φαμεν μεντοι*, or some such formula, is omitted by oversight.

25] There is *α*, then a gap wide enough for one broad or two narrow letters ; then apparently part of an *ο* and an *ι*, but certainly not *αλλα* ; nor is there room for *αλλ' ιθι*, which Gomperz suggests as possible, or *αλλα τοι* (Blass).

26] The *ο* is certain ; then either gaps or vestiges of six letters, which correspond fairly to what I have printed. The *ως ου* of our texts cannot possibly have stood here.

There is at least an inch of blank margin below this last line.

## II.

*According to our texts, twenty-six words lost, viz. sixty-eight letters, four lines (?).*

(190, D).

Πολλοῖς εἰς τὴν ? ἀνδρὶ

ΑΝ Η γὰρ καὶ μαλα δὴ οὕτω ?

ΔΟΚΕΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ τοῖνυν πρῶτον ?

ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΩ μὲν ὡ Λαχῆς

ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ ΤΙ ΠΟΤ ΕΣΤΙΝ

5

ΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΤΟ ΜΕΤΑ τούτο σκε  
ΨΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΩΙ ἂν τροπῶι

ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΙΣ παραγε

ΝΟΙΤΟ ΚΑΘ ΟCΟΝ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ ΕΞ ΕΠΙ

ΤΗΔΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ τε καὶ μα

10

ΘΗΜΑΤΩΝ Παραγενεσθαι

ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΙΡΩ εἰπεῖν ὁ λε

ΓΩ ΤΙΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ οὐ μα τον Δία ?

Ω CΩΚΡΑΤΕC οὐ χαλεπον εἰ

ΠΕΙΝ ΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΙC ἐβελοι ἐν

15

ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Μενων ἀμυνε

σ]ΘΑΙ ΤΟC ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥC καὶ μὴ

ΦΕΥΓ . Ι ΕΥ ΙCΘΙ ΟΤΙ ἀνδρὶ

ΟC ΑΝ ΕΙΗ ΚΑΛΩC μὲν λεγεις

Ω ΛΑΧΗC ΑΛΛΑ ΙCΩC ἐγὼ αἰ

20

ΤΙΟC ΟΥ CΑΦΩC ΕΙΠΩΝ (ΤΟ) CΕ ΜΗ ? α

ΠΟΚΡΙΝΑCΘΑΙ ΤΟ(ΥΤΟ) ὁ διανοοῦ

23 } letters ?

ΜΕΝΟC ΗΡΟΜΗΝ ἀλλ ἑτερον

24 }

ΠΩC ΤΟΥΤΟ ΛΕΓΕΙC ὡ Σωκρά

ΤΕC ΕΓΩ ΦΡΑCΩ εἰαν οἶοC τε

25

ΓΕΝΩΜΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟC ΠΟΥ

ΟΥΤΟC ΟΓ ΚΑΙ CΥ ΛΕΓΕΙC ΟC ἂν

ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Μενων μα

ΧΗΤΑΙ ? ΤΟΙC ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΙC

*Foot of column.*

## II.

1-2] The letters are certain ; but in our texts we cannot obtain enough letters for an average line in 1. Diels suggests the *την*.

3] Probably *ουν* for *τοιουν* (Blass).

6] I cannot make *επειτα* out of the vestiges, which seem to be *επε=τ*. *το μετα* seems correct, G.

10] The first two letters are gone ; only the left top of the *τ* and the last bar of the *η* are visible.

13] *τ. ν.* A slight fold in the papyrus hides the central letter ; but there is only room for *ι*. I presume he had before him *την ανδρειαν*, or *τι ή α*. (D. and B., who omit following *ου*). Gomperz suggests *τιν' ανδ.* sc. *λεγεις*. The rest of the line probably contained some shorter form of negation, twenty-three letters being far above the average.

17] For *τος* cf. Meisterhans ed. 2, p. 5, n. 7 (Diels).

19] *καλως* for the *εν* of our texts.

21-22] The supplement from our texts makes the lines too long. Diels proposes to omit (in 21) *το* (comparing p. 191, c), and read *το* (in 22) for *τουτο* (so also B.), referring to Kühner's G. G. ii., § 459, 1 a.

28] The *ζ* is quite plain—an oversight for *ξ*.

29] *φημι*, and then in next col. *γουν. και γαρ εγω* (B.).

## III.

*Top of column.*

(191, A).

ἀλλὰ τί αὐτὸ  
 δεὸς ἀνφύγων τοῖς πολε-  
 μίοις μαχῆται ἀλλὰ μὴ μ-  
 ενων—πῶς φεύγων  
 —ὥσπερ ποῦ καὶ σκυθαὶ λεγόν  
 ται οὐχ ἡττόν φεύγον  
 τες ἡ διώκοντες μάχεσθαι  
 καὶ ὀμηρὸς ποτε ἐπαινῶν  
 τοὺς τοῦ αἰνέειν ἵππους  
 κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐν  
 θα εἶπεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιστάσθαι  
 διώκειν ἡδὲ φεβέσθαι καὶ  
 αὐτὸν τὸν αἰνεῖαν κα-  
 τὰ τοῦτο ἐνεκώμιασεν  
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φόβου ἐπι-  
 στημὴν καὶ εἶπεν αὐ-  
 τὸν εἶναι μῆστῳρα φόβοιο  
 καὶ καλῶς γέ ῳ σωκρά-  
 τες περὶ ἀρμάτων γάρ  
 εἶλεγε καὶ σὺ τοῦ τῶν  
 σκυθῶν ἵππων περὶ  
 λεγέμενον τοῦ μεγάλου ἵππου  
 οὕτω μάχεται τὸ δε-  
 σπλιτικόν ὥς ἐγὼ λέγω  
 πληγὴ γέ ἰσως ὥς λαχὴς τῶν  
 δακεδαμονίων τοῦτοῦς  
 γὰρ φασὶν καὶ πλατεῖ  
 ἀσὶ ἐπέιδῃ πρὸς τ[οί]ς γερ-  
 ροφοροῖς ἐγεν[ο]ντ[ο] . . .  
 οὐ θέλειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς?

5

10

15

20

25

30

*Two more lines lost.*

## III.

Columns III., IV., V., have a broad blank margin over them.

1] There is no room between this and the line at the bottom of II. for the words in our received texts.

3] *μαχηται* comes two words later than in our texts.

9] The form seems to be *αινεα*, but I am not certain; there is hardly room for *ει*.

13] Blass suggests *αυτον δε τ*.

20] *του* for our *το* is certain; probably a mistake.

22-24] Two useless adscripts, one of which Badham had already detected, do not appear here, viz. *το εκεινων* and *το γε των Ελληνων*.

25] *πληγ γε* by assimilation, and *των* for our *το*.

27] *και Πλατ.* for *εν Πλατ.* The form *Πλατειασι*, in Attic, without the *ι* subscript. is suggested by Diels, who compares the doubtful text in *Menexenos*, p. 245 a.

30-31] I cannot make the vestiges fit our texts. D. and B. suggest *ου θελειν προς αυτους*. The *ει* is very doubtful, the *αυ* apparently clear. A single stroke of the next following line is still visible.

A PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF

IV.

(191, c).

ΑΙ ΤΑΞΕΙΣ Των ΠεΡCων α  
 ΝΑΣΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΟΥC ΩC  
 ΠΕΡ ΙΠΠΕC ΜΑΧΕCΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ  
 ΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΗCαι Τ . . Ν Ε ?  
 ΚΕΙ ΜΑΧΗΝ—ΑΛΗΘΗ ΛΕ

5

ΓΕΙC—ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟΙΝΥΝ Ο  
 ΑΡΤΙ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΟΤΙ ΕΓΩ ΑΙΤΙ  
 ΟC ΜΗ ΚΑΛΩC CΕ ΑΠΟΚΡΙ  
 ΝΑCΘΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΟΥ ΚΑΛΩC CΕ Η  
 ΡΟΜΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟC ΓΑΡ  
 CΟΥ ΠΥΘΕCΘΑΙ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΟΝ  
 ΤΟC ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΟΠΛΙΤΙΚΩΙ ΑΝ  
 ΔΡΕΙΟΥC ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΕΝ  
 ΤΩΙ ΙΠΠΙΚΩΙ ΕΝ ΤCΙ CΥΜ ?

10

ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΙ 15

ΕΙΔΕΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΟΝ  
 ΤΟΥC Ε . Ν ΤΩΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΙ ?

ΑΛΛΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΕΝ ΤΟΙC  
 ΠΡΟC ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑCΤΑΝ ΚΙΝ  
 ΔΥΝΕΥΟΥCΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΥC ΟΝ 20  
 ΤΑC ΚΑΙ ΟCΟΙ ΤΕ ΠΡΟC ΝΟ (the π very wide)  
 CΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΟCΟΙ ΠΡΟC ΠΕΝΙΑC

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟC ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΑΝ  
 ΔΡΕΙΟΙ ΕΙCΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΙ ΑΥ  
 ΜΗ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΟCΟΙ ΠΡΟ ΛΥΠΑC 25

Η ΦΟΒΟΥC ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΙ ΕΙCΙΝ ΑΛ  
 ΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟC ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑC Η  
 ΗΔΟΝΑC ΔΕΙΝΟΙ ΜΑΧΕ

CΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΟΝΤΕC Η ΑΝ  
 ΑCΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΕC ΕΙCΙ γΑΡ ΠΟΥ 30

ΤΙΝΕC Ω ΛΑΧηC και εν τοιC  
 ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙC ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΙ—

## IV.

1] Here again we have too much in our texts for the missing interval, unless we suppose three lines to be lost at the bottom of III., which is possible, though the corresponding column is thirty-two lines.

3] *ιππεις* for *ιππιας*, or *ιππεις*. Diels compares Meisterhans, p. 110, n. 8.

4] There is too much room for *την*; the vestiges look like *τερον*.

6-7] *ο αρτι*, improving Ast's emendation, but introducing a long and characteristic anacoluthon.

9] *σε* introduced.

12] *τος* for *τους*, as often in Inscriptions.

14] I cannot read *τωι* here, though the *τ* and *ι* are plain.

16] *ειδεν* is a mere mistake of the scribe.

17] The apparent gap between the *ε* and *ν* may be the mere avoidance of a flaw in the papyrus.

18-20] *αλλα(ι)* a mere blunder. The construction is, 'those who are manly among the people who run risks at sea.'

29] *και* introduced.

## V.

(191, E).

σφοΔΡΑ ΓΕ Ω ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΣ ουκ

ουΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΙ ΜΕΝ παν

τεC ΟΥΤΟΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΙ Επει ?

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΗΔΟΝΑΙC ΟΙ ΔΕ

ΕΝ ΛΥΠΑΙC ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΝ Επιθυ

μιαΙC ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΜ ΦΟΒΟΙC Την

ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΚΕΚΤΗΝται ΟΙ

ΔΕ ΓΕ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΝ ΕΝ τοιC

ΑΥΤΟΙC ΤΟΥΤΟΙC—ΠΑνν γε ?

—ΤΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΝ του

ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΥΝΘΑΝομαι

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΥΝ ΠΕΙΡΩ ΕΙπειν

ΤΗΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

ΤΙ ΟΥΝ ΕΜ ΠΑCΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΙC

ΤΑΥΤΟΝ ΕCΤΙΝ Η ΟΥπω κα

ΤΑΜΑΝΘΑΝΕΙC Ο ΛΕΓω—

—ΟΥ ΠΑΝΥ ΤΙ—ΑΛΛ ΩΔΕ λεγω

ΩCΠΕΡ ΑΝ ΕΙ ΤΑΧΟC Ηρω

ΤΩΝ ΤΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΕCΤΙΝ Ο ΕΝ

ΤΩΙ ΤΡΕΧΕ ΤΥΓΧΑΝει ον

ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ Κιθα

ΡΙΖΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΛΕγειν και

ΕΝ ΤΕ ΤΩΙ ΜΑΝΘΑΝΕιν και

ΕΝ ΑΛΛΟΙC ΠΟΛΛΟΙC ΚΑΙ [σχεδον ?

ΤΙ ΑΥΤΟ ΚΕΚΤΗΜΕθα ου

ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΞΙΟΝ Λεγειν η

ΕΝ ΤΑΙC ΤΩΓ ΧΕΙρων πρα

ΞΕCΙΝ η CΚΕΛΩΝ η νοημα

ΤΟC ΤΕ Αμα και ΦΩ

νηC Η ΟΥΧ ΟΥΤΩ και Cυ λεγ

ΕΙC—ΠΑΝΥ ΓΕ ει τοι

νυν τιC ΜΕ ΕΡΟΙΤΟ

5

10

15

20

25

30

## V.

1] γε inserted.

2 sq.] Varies from our texts, *sc.* 'All these are manful in manliness; some,' &c. There is consequently an asyndeton, avoided in our texts by *αλλα*, that is to say, if we read *εισι*. I don't think there is room for *ε]ισιν αλλοι* [ in the two gaps, of which the second (initial) cannot hold more than three letters. The first (final) is more doubtful. Hence I suggest *επει*, or *επειδη*, if there be room. With the present reading *κεκτημενοι* would be what we expect; but the *ν* of *κεκτηνται* is plain.

10, 12] *ουν* where our texts have *ον*.

11] *πυνθανομαι*, more lively than the usual imperfect.

20] *τρεχε* for *τρεχειν*, reminding us both of the Coptic and the modern Greek infinitive, is a curious blunder.

24] There seems hardly room for *σχεδον* at the end of the line, but the sense requires it.

29] The *τ* is certain; the *α* *might* be the lobe of a *φ*, which he writes as a flat triangle; the *ω* is certain; not so the preceding letter, of which two ends appear. These remains will not fit into our texts. I have printed Diels' ingenious suggestions.

31] This line seems too short without some unknown supplement.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

PLAUTINA.

BACCHIDES 3. 6. 30.

Dic quis est: nequam hominis ego parvi pendo gratiam.

Read :

Dic quis est, INQUAM: néquam hominis ego párvī pendo grátiam.

*Inquam* fell out before *nequam*.

CAPTIVI 1. 1. 32.

Nullast spes inuentutis sese omnes amant.

Read:—

NULLIVST spes inuentútis: sese omnés amant.

CASINA 1. 1. 38.

Post autem ruri nisi tu acervom ederis,  
Aut quasi lumbricus terram.

So A, according to Goetz and Schoell's new edition.

If this is correctly reported, I suggest :

Post autem ruri nisi tu AUT AEREM ederis.

‘You shall have nothing but air to eat.’

CASINA 2. 3. 8.

Hanc égo de me coniécturam domi fácio magis quam ex áuditis  
Qui quam amo Casinam magis inicio munditiis Munditiam antideo.  
Myropólas omnis sóllicito: ubiquómquest lepidum unguéntum,  
unguor  
Ut illí placeam.

In the second verse, which is very corrupt, *magis* has been inserted from the previous line. Read :

Qui quám amo Casinam ACVS INDICIO: mundítiis Munditiam ántideo.

‘The curling-tongs is a witness to my love for Casina.’

## CASINA 2. 3. 40.

Súper ancilla Cásina, ut detur núptum nostro vílico  
 Sérvó frugi, atque úbi illi bene sit lígno aqua calida cibo,  
 Véstimentis, úbique educat púeros quos paríat ~ \_

*Alat* will fill up the gap.

## CASINA 2. 6. 33.

CHA. Quid tu id curas? OL. Quífa enim metuo, né in aqua summá  
 natet.

LY. Ange, cave. Confícite sortis núnciam ambo huc. Éccere,  
 Úxor aequa.

So the second verse is given in Goetz and Schoell's  
 new text. Read :

ÁNGUEM CAVE. LY. Confícite sortis, *etc.*

'Beware of the serpent!' In 2. 8. 18 of the same play  
*vesicam vilico* should, I think, be *sica vilicum*.

## CASINA III. 1. 9.

Séd facitodum mérula per versus quos cantát colas.

Read :

Séd facitodum mérula ~~PER VER~~ vérsus quos cantát colas.

*Versus* is established by Pliny, x. 84: 'meditantur [aliae  
 luscinae] iuveniores *versusque* quos imitantur accipiunt.'

## CASINA 3. 5. 55.

Quid úxor mea? non adiít atque adémit?

The metre is Bacchiac. Read :

Quid úxor mea? ANNON adiít atque adémit?

## CASINA 4. 3. 16.

LY. Di hércle me cupiunt servatum, iam óboluit Casínus procul.

*Casinus* should, I think, be *asinus* : cf. Aristophanes,

Eq. 639; and the word *δνόπορον*. Lysidamus accepts the hybristic quadruped as a type of himself.

CASINA 5. 4. 16 (994).

Tūi amoris causa ego istuc féci. CLÆ. Immo *Hector Ilius*  
Té quidem oppressit.

So Goetz and Schoell now read in their small edition. A has ECATOR ILIUS; the Palatine MSS. have *hectore illius*. Goetz and Schoell say, 'corr. e Servio Dan. ad Aen. i. 208;' and in their Preface they attribute the correction to Bücheler. Where Bücheler made this suggestion I do not know, but I had made the same correction in HERMATHENA, No. XII., p. 83 (1886). There is no 'lusus nequam' in the words of Plautus as far as I can see.

CASINA 4. 4. 21.

Nebula haúd est mollis aéque atque huius est pectus.

So A; but the first four letters of *pectus* are uncertain. The other MSS. omit the word. Read *sinus*.

EPIDICUS 3. 4. 57.

Euge! éuge! Epidice, frúgi es pugnasti homo es  
Qui me émunxisti múcidum minumí preti.

So both A and B in the first line. *Pugnasti* can scarcely be sound. Read:

Euge éuge Epidice frúgi et PRAEGNAS ASTU homo es.

*Praegnas astu* would easily become *pugnasti*.

CURCULIO 1. 1. 48.

Si iratumst scortum forte amatori suo  
Bis perit amator, ab re atque animo simul;  
Sin alter alteri potius est idem perit.

Read:

Sin álter EI POTIOR ést, itidém perit.

## TRUCULENTUS 2. 6. 4.

Ethomeronidam et post illam illi memorari potest  
Qui et convicti et condemnati falsis de pugnis sient.

I propose :

Et HOMERI OENIDAM et postilla mille memorari potis.

‘Homer’s Oenides,’ *i.e.* either Tydeus or Diomedes. This is almost the MSS. reading. Some legend is referred to which we know nothing of. Tydeus was exiled from Calydon for slaying some of his countrymen. In some poem of the Epic cycle this charge may have been stated to have been groundless. Some of his warlike achievements are told Il. iv. 387 seqq.

A. PALMER.

OVID, *Heroides*, 3. 44.

An miseros tristis fortuna tenaciter urget ?  
Nec venit inceptis mollior hora meis ?

Professor Housman conjectures *malis* for *meis*, a reading which I am now glad that I at once accepted when I was editing the *Heroides* for Dr. Postgate’s Corpus. For I find that Planudes has the decisive confirmation τοῖς ὑπηργ-  
μένοις κακοῖς. No known MS. has *malis*.

A. PALMER.

# ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON LEWIS AND SHORT'S LATIN DICTIONARY.

**I**N a former Paper in *HERMATHENA* (vol. iv., p. 105) I commented on the etymology of the *Greek Lexicon* of Liddell and Scott. While expressing my high appreciation of that work as a whole, I pointed out a number of errors, more or less grave, in its etymology. Since then, a new edition of the *Lexicon* has appeared, and in it every error which I had noticed has been corrected. I now undertake a similar task in relation to the justly esteemed *Latin Dictionary* of Lewis and Short. The interpretative portion of this *Dictionary* is entitled to high commendation. The contents of that part of the work are of course mainly traditional—every Latin lexicographer has a long series of predecessors from whom he can collect materials—and hence there is a large amount of coincidence in the articles on the same words in different dictionaries. In the etymology greater difficulties have to be encountered. The rational investigation of this subject is comparatively recent, and no one can safely deal with it who has not undertaken a scientific study of the laws of Comparative Phonology. Old mistakes have lingered in most of the dictionaries in common use, and unless a new lexicographer is duly prepared for his task, and unless he be constantly on the watch, they are pretty sure to creep into his work. It will be found that this has occurred to a considerable extent in the *Dictionary* of Lewis and Short, and I think good service will be done for the student by indicating a number of erroneous

statements which are to be found in the book. In my criticisms I have placed myself at the same point of view with its authors—that, namely, of the etymology of Curtius, Corssen, and their followers. I have taken no account of the doctrines of the new school which has arisen in late years, and which is best represented by Brugmann. I have not included in my enumeration any statement about which different opinions may fairly be entertained; I appeal in every case to general principles accepted by L. and S. themselves.

1. *Abies* is said to be ‘perhaps akin to ἀλδαίνω.’ But this is plainly impossible.

2. *Absurdus*. It must surely be by a printer’s error that *absurdus* is compared with Skr. *svan*, instead of *svar*.

3. *Aedes*. Of this word, L. & S., passing lightly over the true explanation of it, given in Curtius, which makes it cogn. with αἶθω, say, ‘others, with probability, compare ἔδος, ἔδρα, and *sēdes*.’ But surely the root of the three last is *sad*, and with this root *aedes* can have nothing to do.

4. *Aemulus* is compared with ἀμιλλάομαι and ἄμα. But ἄμα (with which ἄμιλλα may be cognate: cf. for sense *simul-tas*) is = *sama*, and *aemulus* could not be related to it: see note (*infra*) on *imitor*.

5. *Aequus*. This word, we are told, was ‘formerly referred to εἴκω, εἰοικα’; but that suggestion should not be indicated as capable of being entertained at all, for εἴκω is really *Feíkw*, and has *vik* for its root. There *cannot*, therefore, be any connexion between it and *aequus*.

6. *Aiō* is said to be cognate with Eng. *aye* (= *yea, yes*) and Germ. *ja*. It is admitted that it comes from an I.-E. root *agh*, indicated by Gr. ἤχαιε and Lat. *ad-ag-ium*. Now with this *agh* the Germ. *ja* and the Eng. *aye* have certainly nothing to do, as anyone will see who reads Grimm’s article on the former word (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*), or Skeat’s on the latter (*Dictionary of English Etymology*).

7. *Ala* is stated, on the authority of Cicero, to be contracted from *axilla*: but that is an error; *axilla* is really the diminutive of *ala*, which is for *ax-la*: cf. *velum*, *velillum*.

8. *Amarus* is compared (after Curtius and others) with Gr. ἄμρος and Skr. *āma-s*. But alongside of this is a comparison with the Hebrew *mar*. These accounts are inconsistent; and, besides, no Latin lexicographer should cite a Hebrew word as cognate with a Latin one, unless the latter be *borrowed* from a Semitic source.

9. *Ambulo*. On this word L. & S. have the following note:—'. . . comp. of am- and the root of βαλω, beto, bito, baculum, βάκτρον, vado, venio; Sanscr. gâ = go; Germ. gehen; Eng. go.—Curtius.' Now here Curtius is represented as connecting Germ. *gehen*, Eng. *go*, with the Skr. *gâ*. Yet he distinctly separates them. He says: 'Das Goth. *gaggan*, alts. *gâ-n*, gehn, darf wegen Mangels der Lautverschiebung nicht verglichen werden.' Whether he is right or wrong in this, he at least ought not to be represented as teaching what he distinctly denies. It is the English *come* which he really compares with the root *gâ* (through *gam*, Goth. *quim-an*; cf. Lat. *ven-i-o*).

10. *Amo* is compared with both Skr. *kam* and Gr. ἀμα, which latter is = *sama*, and cognate with *similis*. Without raising the question whether initial *k* can disappear before a vowel at the beginning of a Latin word, it is plain that we must separate the roots *kam* and *sam*, and that the Greek spir. asp. and Latin *s* cannot correspond to orig. *k*.

11. *Ango* is compared with Eng. *hang*. But the latter word has in it no idea of 'choking'; it corresponds in sense with Lat. *pendere*. The Germ. *eng* is cognate with *ango*, and has a kindred meaning, but the English word has quite different connexions. The initial *h* of *hang* indicates orig. *k*, and the Gothic *hahan* (to hang) indicates a root *kak*, the affinities of which, however, are obscure.

12. *Animus* is strangely said to be 'a Graeco-Italic form of *ἀνέμος*.' This curious statement arises from a mistake as to the meaning of a passage in the *Einleitung* to Curtius' Gr. Etym., p. 89 (4th ed.).

13. *Aquila*. On this word it is strangely said: 'cf. Eng. eagle; Fr. aigle; Germ. Adler.' Eng. *eagle* is of course derived from Fr. *aigle*, and the latter from *aquila*; and it is absurd to compare them as if they were parallel words from a common source. Germ. *Adler* has nothing whatever to do with *aquila*; it is probable (see Grimm, *Wörterb.*, s. v.) that *Adler* is a compound of the adj. *adel* with *aar*, the latter being cogn. with the Eng. noun *earn*.

14. *Ara*. This word, which in Old Lat. was *asa*, is said to be derived from I.-E. *as*, to sit, 'as the seat, or resting-place, of the victim or offering,' and a reference is added to Curtius, Etym., p. 381. But on looking at Curtius' account of the Skr. root *ās*, it will appear that he interprets *ara*, not as the 'seat of the victim,' but as the 'sitting-place of the suppliant.'

15. *Arbiter* is said to be 'from ar = ad and bito = eo.' This is not quite correct, implying, as it does, that the word is *ar-bit-er*, when it is really *ar-bi-ter*. The root is *ba* (from *ga*), seen in *βά-σις*, *βα-ρό-ς*, from which root come also *be-t-o* and *bi-t-o*.

16. *Ardeo*. L. & S. represent Curtius as accepting a comparison of this word with Skr. *ghar*, to shine. But Curtius does no such thing. He only uses the analogy of the meanings of Lat. *ardere* to show that from the physical signification, *to glow* (not *to shine*), of the root *ghar*, naturally flows the mental sense *to desire earnestly*.

17. *Arista* is compared with Germ. *Aehre*, Eng. *ear* (of corn), and is said to be perhaps akin to Lat. *aro*. But the *h* in the Germ. word is radical (cf. Goth. *ahs*), and represents an orig. *k*, and *Aehre* (old form *āher*) is really cogn. with Lat. *acus*, *acies*, and quite unconnected with *aro*

Neither Germ. *Ernte* nor Eng. *earnest* have anything to do with *Achre* or *car*.

18. *Asinus*. Among the cognates of the word are rightly given Eng. *ass* and Gr. ὄνος, but it is strangely added that 'the Latin seems to have these two forms in combination,' *i.e.* *asinus* = *ass* + ὄνος. Surely this is incredible, and ὄνος is for ὄσ-νο-ς, the first syllable of the latter word being akin to the *as* in Lat. *as-inu-s*, and in Goth. *as-ilu-s*, O. N. *as-ni*.

19. *Audio*. There is on this word an example of a confusion which is found in other places also. With *audio* are compared (and, though the relation is indistinctly explained, the *rapprochements* indicated are correct), 'auris, Lith. *ausis*; Goth. *auso*; Germ. *Ohr*, and Eng. *ear*'; but to this enumeration is added 'Fr. *ouir*,' which again is followed by the mention of *ausculto*, Gr. ἀῖω, and Skr. *av*. That is to say, *ouir* is given as standing in similar relation to the Latin word with *Ohr* and *ear* and the rest. This is just as if we were to say that *pater* is cogn. with Germ. *Vater*, Eng. *father*, and Fr. *père*. *Auris*, *Ohr*, and *ear* come from a common I.-E. source; but *ouir* is derived from *audire*.

20. *Bajulus* is said to be 'kindred with φέρω, *fero*, Eng. *bear*, and with Germ. *Bahre*, *Bürde*.' But initial I.-E. *bh* is not represented by Latin *b*, and the Germanic forms here cited, instead of justifying the *b* in *bajulus*, indicate, according to Grimm's Law, an *f* in Latin; that is to say, the *f* of *fero*, with which word they are really cognate, whilst *bajulus* has nothing to do with it.

21. *Belua* is said to be 'perhaps kindred with θήρ, *fera*, as *uber* with οὔθαρ and *paulus* with παῦρος.' But it does not follow, because in *uber* and *ruber*, Lat. *b* in the middle of a word represents I.-E. *dh*, that the latter, when *initial*, can be represented by *b*, and in fact it never is. This is a grave error in phonology. The mention of *paulus* and

παῦρος is altogether irrelevant: what happens in the case of these words is simply that to the common element *pau* (see the art. on *paucus* in L. & S.) in the one case *-lo*, in the other *-ro*, is added as suffix.

22. *Bestia* again is said to be 'perhaps akin to *fera* and *belua*,' but what ground can be shown for the notion I am quite unable to see. As I have said on the preceding word, initial I.-E. *dh* is not represented by Latin *b*, and whence the *s* in *bestia* is to be explained does not appear.

23. *Burgus*. This word of later Latin is *s. v.* compared with Greek πύργος and with Germ. *Burg*, *Berg*. A relation between the Greek and German words is thus implied. But, under *farcio*, *Burg* and *Berg* are treated as cognate with φράσσω (= φρακ-γω). Both accounts cannot be correct.

24. *Canalis* is compared with Gr. χάλω and Germ. *gähnen*. But Lat. *c* does not represent orig. *gh*, and points not to *g* but to *h* in German. Lat. *hio* is *s. v.* connected with χάλω; and is it to be believed that *hio* and *canalis* are cognate?

25. *Capio* is rightly compared with κῶπη and Eng. *haft*. But what is meant by adding 'Sanscr. root hri-, take: cf. Gr. χεῖρ, Eng. and Germ. hand, and Goth. hinthan, seize'? What can Skr. *hri* (*har*) have to do with *capio*? It cannot be really meant that χεῖρ and *hand* are cognate.

26. *Caro* is rightly compared with Skr. *kravya-m*, Gr. κρέας, but wrongly with Germ. *Kern*. Lat. *c* does not correspond to Germ. *k*.

27. *Carpo* is rightly compared with Gr. καρπός, but wrongly with ἀρπάζω and *rapio*. The latter words are indeed, in the article on *rapio*, compared, after Pott, with the Skr. root *lup*. I will not express any opinion as to the probability of this last *rapprochement*; but who can believe that καρπός is from a root *lup* or *rup*?

28. *Castus* is wrongly connected with Germ. *keusch*, as well as (perhaps rightly) with Germ. *heiter*. The former

comparison contradicts Grimm's law. To justify the latter, it is to be remembered that the *s* in *cas-to-* is secondary, coming from a *d*, which has arisen out of I.-E. *dh*: cf. *καθ-αρό-ς*.

29. *Caveo* is said to be from root *skoF-* or *koF-*. Rather from root *skav*. But probably Eng. *F* is wrongly printed for *F*.

30. *Cena* is compared (after Corssen) with Skr. *khád*, to eat, from which is elicited an I.-E. root *skad*, *cena* being for *ces-na*: cf. Umbr. *cers-na* (not rightly given in L. & S.). But it is added, 'cf. Gr. *κνίζω*.' Plainly such a comparison cannot stand. How can *κνίζω* be related to I.-E. *skad*?

31. *Cingo* is compared with Gr. *κυλλός*, *κυρτός*, and Lat. *curvus*. These impossible *rapprochements* arise from a misunderstanding of Curtius' meaning in p. 546 of his Gr. Etym.; he speaks of a verb *clingo*, recognized by Festus as having the same sense with *cingo*, but he does not suggest that *clingo* and *cingo* are etymologically related.

32. *Cinis* is rightly treated as cognate with Gr. *κόνις*; but what is the meaning of the added reference 'cf. also *naucus*'? What can *naucus* have to do with *cinis*?

33. *Clarus* is said to be 'kindred with Germ. *klar*; Eng. *clear*.' But Germ. *klar* is really borrowed from the Latin, the true Germ. word for the idea being *hell*; and Eng. *clear* is derived, through Fr. *clair*, from *clarus*; so that neither can properly be compared with *clarus* by a Latin etymologist.

34. *Confestim*. On this word, *festino*, which is rightly compared with it, is said to be from *fero*. This is quite wrong; and, indeed, on the word *festino* itself the latter is brought into what seems (notwithstanding the hesitation of Curtius) its true relation as cogn. with Lat. *-fendo*, Gr. *θείνω*.

35. *Consilium* is *s. v.* derived from root *sal*, Skr. *sar*,

to go; but on letter D it is said to be cogn. with *considerere*. Either explanation might be maintained, but both cannot be true.

36. *Coquo* is compared, not only correctly with Gr. πέπω, but wrongly with Germ. *backen*, Eng. *bake*. The latter words are really cognate with Gr. φῶγω.

37. *Crimen* is said to be 'contr. for cernimen from cerno.' This is a strange notion of word-formation. Is it not plain that κρί-ν-ω, *cri-bru-m*, *cer-n-o*, *cri-men* all stand on the same level, and that *crimen* is no more for *cernimen* than *nomen* is for *noscimen*? [I observe that *discrimen* is *s. v.* said to be for *discerimen*; perhaps in the art. on *crimen*, *cerimen* (not *cernimen*) is intended.]

38. *Curro* is said to be 'kindred with *celer*, *coruscus*.' But *coruscus* is said *s. v.* to be from the root of σκαίρω. Is *celer*, then, cognate with σκαίρω? On 1. cello, *celer* is connected with Skr. *kar*, to kill. There is confusion here.

39. *Debilis* is *s. v.* said to be = *de-habilis*, a view very generally entertained; under *valeo* the *-bili-s* is compared with that word, and with Skr. *bala*, strength. These accounts are irreconcilable.

40. *Duplus* is said to be from *duplex*, but this is surely impossible. *Duplus*, *triplus*, *quadruplus*, and also most probably *amplus*, are from the root *ple* (I.-E. *par*), seen in πλέ-ως, *pleo*, *ple-nu-s*, and, with modified form, in πολ-ύ-ς, the Germanic cognates being Goth. *filu*, Eng. *full*, N. H. G. *viel*. *Duplus*, &c., therefore, correspond strictly to δι-πλόο-ς, &c. Into *duplex*, &c., enters the different root seen in πλέκ-ω, *plec-to-r*, *plic-o*. Whether πλέκ- is an augmentation (Weiterbildung) of πλέ- (or I.-E. *park* of *par*), is a question into which I do not enter.

41. *Durus*. On this word we find the following note: 'Etym. dub.: cf. Sanscr. root *dhar*, to fix, confirm.' I suppose this means that *possibly* *durus* is cognate with *dhar*. But this I must deny. Initial I.-E. and Skr. *dh*

correspond, not to *d*, but to *f* in Latin ; and the true derivatives of *dhar* are (and they are so given elsewhere by L. & S.) *fir-mus*, *fre-tus*, *fre-num*.

42. *Falco*. On *flecto*, Gr. *φολκός*, *φάλαγξ*, and Lat. *falx*, *falco*, are rightly compared with that verb. Then is added: 'cf. Germ. *falke*, Eng. *falcon*.' But the Germ. word is borrowed from Lat. *falco*, and Fr. *faucon*, Eng. *falcon*, are derived from *falco* ; none of these, therefore, can be properly compared with *flecto*.

43. *Far* is said to be 'akin with *frico*,' and *frico* is *s. v.* rightly compared with Skr. *ghar*, to *rub*. This account of *far* might perhaps stand, if we looked at these words alone ; but *far* cannot be separated from Goth. *baris*, A.-S. *bere*, Eng. *bar-ley*, and, therefore, the I.-E. root began with *bh*, not *gh*. That root was doubtless *bhar*, whence *fero* ; the root *ghar* (or augmented form *ghard*) appears in Lat. *hordeum* and O. H. G. *gers-tā*.

44. *Figo* is rightly compared with Greek *σφίγγω*, but Germ. *dick*, Eng. *thick*, are wrongly cited as cognate. They are difficult words, but they are certainly quite unconnected with *figo* ; a Latin word akin to them would have for its initial letter not *f*, but *t*. See Grimm on *dick*, and Skeat on *thick*, for the most probable accounts of their affinities.

45. *Flagito* is *s. v.* compared with *flagro*, Gr. *φλέγω* ; but in the art. on *fligo* it is compared with that word and with *flagellum*, which have no connexion with *flagro*.

46. *Formus*. The etymological note on this word is as follows:—'ferv-veo ; Sanscr. *ghar-mas*, glow, warmth ; Gr. *θερμός*, *θερός* ; Lat. *ferveo*, *formus*, *fornax* ; O. H. G. *waram* ; Eng. *warm*, Curt. Gr. Etym., p. 485.' *Furnus* (*fornus*), too, is *s. v.* connected with Skr. root *ghar* ; and so Curtius and most etymologists explain *formus*, *fornus*, and *fornax*. But Curtius does not connect *ferveo* with that root, and L. & S. themselves, in their art. on *ferveo*, follow

him in giving a different account of it, making it cognate with Skr. *bhrū-*, Gr. *φρν* (φρέF-ap).

47. *Forus* is said to be 'kindred with forum, foras, foris, from fero.' But *foras* and *foris* are, in the articles on these words, rightly connected with *θύρα*, and *forum* is said to be perhaps cognate with Sanscr. *dhar*, so that of these words the initial sound comes from I.-E. *dh*, whereas *fero* goes back to *bhar*. The several statements just quoted are, therefore, irreconcilable.

48. *Fragro* is compared with Skr. *dhraj-*, to breathe, and Lat. *flare*, to blow. But *flo* is *s. v.* connected (after Curtius) with *ἐκ-φλαίνω*, and Germ. *blasen*, which implies initial I.-E. *bh*, not *dh*.

49. *Funis* is said, and probably rightly, to be for *fudnis*, and to be cognate with Skr. *bandh* (which doubtless goes back to I.-E. *bhandh*). But to this statement is added the following: 'cf. Gr. *πῆσμα*, rope; kind. with *σχοῖνος*.' Now, if *funis* be from *bhandh*, it will most probably be connected with *πῆσμα*, as could easily be shown; but *σχοῖνος*! Is *σχοῖνος* then to be referred to *bhandh*?

50. *Furca*. On this word there is extraordinary confusion. Part of the note on it is as follows:—'Sanscr. *bhur-ig*, shears: cf. Lat. *forceps*, *forfex*; also Gr. *φάρος*, plough; Lat. *forare*; Eng. *bore*, Curt. Gr. Etym. p. 299.' Curtius is here credited with comparisons he does not, and could not, make. If *furca* be cognate with *φάρος* and *forare*, it goes back to a root *bhar*; but what has *forceps* to do with this? *Forceps* is, as L. & S. themselves tell us (for *formi-ceps*) akin to *formus*, from root *ghar*. And *forceps* and *forfex*, which they here join, are equally unrelated, according to the view they give of the latter, which they derive from *forus facio*. For *forus* is not from *ghar*.

51. *Glacies*. On *glacies* we read 'root in Gr. *γάλα*, *γαλακτ-*: cf. *γλαγάω*, to be milky, etc.; Germ. *Gletscher*; v. *gelu*.' The connexion of the word with *γάλα* is taken from

Curtius, and may be right. But what has *Gletscher* to do here? That word is merely a German adaptation of the Fr. *glacier*, which is derived through *glace*, from *glacies*, or a low Lat. equivalent *glacia*.

52. *Hamus* is said to be 'kindred with ἄπ-, ἀπ-τω.' But, if so, how is the *h* to be explained? Lat. *ap-ere*, *ap-isci* go to show that the asper in Greek is not organic; in any case, the Latin *h* cannot correspond to it. The χαμῶς of Hesychius (supposing him to have had good authority for it) seems the Greek word which we can safely regard as cognate with *hamus*.

53. *Heres* is, in the article on *hir*, said to be 'from χῆρος' (the 'from' is erroneous and misleading). This is Bopp's view of its affinities; but, on *heres* itself, Curtius' account—a quite different one—of the word is given.

54. *Hiems* is said, on *hir*, to be 'from χεῖμα.' Here again the 'from' is, of course, wrong. Latin words, except when they are *borrowed*, do not come from Greek ones.

55. *Hirundo* is said to be 'weakened from χελιδών.' There is no ground for thinking so. The words are cognate, but the one does not come from the other. Curtius supposes the common Graeco-Italic parent to have been χερνδον-.

56. *Hora*. The following is the etymological note on this word:—'kindred with ὥρα; Zend, yare, year, ayara, day; orig. for 𑖦𑖅𑖱𑖅𑖱𑖅, from 𑖦𑖅𑖱𑖅, ver.' But how can the I.-E. root have begun at once with *y* and with *v*? we must choose between these initial sounds. L. & S. say nothing as to the *nature* of the connexion between *hora* and ὥρα; the former seems to be really *borrowed* from the Greek.

57. *Horior* (whence *hortor*) is said to be from 'the root [sic] OPΩ, whence ὀρνυμι, ὀρμή, ὀρμάω, etc.' But *orior* is from the root of ὀρνυμι, and the initial *h* of *horior* shows

that it cannot be from the same root. It is hastily assumed that ὄρνυμι and ὄρμη are cognate; they do not appear to be really so.

58. *Hospes*. On letter P it is said that the commutation of *p* with *t* is perhaps seen in hospes and hostis. But *hospes* is *s. v.* rightly explained as = *hosti-pet-s*.

59. *Imber*. The note on this word is—'kindred to Sanscr. abhra, a cloud: cf. Lat. umbra, Gr. ὄμβρος.' On umbra it is said—'Curt. compares Sanscr. *ambara*, an encircling.' But Curtius distinctly tells us that, in his judgment, *ambara-m* is 'certainly not akin' to ὄμβρος, or *abhra-m*. I do not find in Curt. *Etym.* any comparison of *umbra* with *amb-ara-m*.

60. *Imitor* is (under *aemulus*) compared with Gr. ἄμα; but ἄμα is under *semel* rightly made cognate with the latter word, and referred to the root *sam*. Both statements cannot be correct.

61. *Importunus* is rightly said to be the opposite of *opportunus*; yet, whilst the latter is derived by L. & S. from *portus*, the former is derived from *porto*.

62. *Indigito* is referred to *indico*; but there can scarcely be a doubt that it is really (as Curt. says) from I.-E. *agh*, for which see above on *aio*.

63. *Inseco* is identified with *insequor*, which, to anyone who considers what is said by Curtius in No. 632 on the Greek root σεν, will appear to be certainly wrong.

64. *Mala* is said to be from mando, as scala from scando. But this cannot be, for the diminutive is *maxilla*, and this shows that, in *mala*, a guttural has been lost before *l*.

65. *Medius* is mentioned, on letter D, as furnishing an example of *d* in Lat. from 'an original *s*.' But this is a mistake. The *d* is from orig. *dh* (cf. Skr. *madh-ya-s*), which in Greek became *θ* (μεθ-γο-ς, and thence μέσος, μέσος).

66. *Mille* is said to be cognate with Gr. *δμιλος*, as if the *o* in that word was prothetic, and the spir. asp. of no account; but, comparing *ἴλη*, we cannot doubt that the stem *δμο-* enters into *δμιλος*.

67. *Moles* is said to be 'prob. for mog-les, root magh-: cf. *magnus*; Gr. *μόχθος*, *μογεῖν*, *μόγεις*: cf. *μοχλος*, *moliri*, *molestus*; Germ. *Mühe*.' The Greek words here given are most probably all cognate with *moles*, and *moliri*, *molestus*, are derived from it. But there is not the least reason to suppose that it is akin to *magnus*, and the connexion with Germ. *Mühe* is more than doubtful.

68. *Musca*. The relation of this word to the Gr. *μῦα* is not distinctly explained; the latter is for *μῦσια*, the vowel-flanked *s*, as usual, disappearing. Eng. *mosquito* is wrongly compared; *mosquito* is Spanish, and is derived from *musca*.

69. *Neptunus* is treated by L. & S. as cognate with the root *νιπ-*, *νιβ-*, and with *νίφω*; and they compare *nimbus*, rain-cloud. But *nimbus*, in the article on that word, is, after Curtius and others, connected with Skr. *nabhas*, Gr. *νέφος*, *νεφέλη*, and Lat. *nubes*. Now, the radical meaning contained in the latter group of words is that of *veiling*: cf. art. on *nubo*; and they are quite unconnected with *νίφω*, the root of which is *snigh*. *Neptunus* may be from *nabh*, the root of *νέφος*.

70. *Opilio* (*upilio*). In the art. on letter P, it is said that 'P is put for *v* in *opilio*, for *ovilio*, from *ovis*.' But this is not so: the alleged change of letters never takes place; *opilio* (*up*.) is really for *ovi-philio*, with the second element of which we may compare *αι-πόλος*.

71. *Os*, a bone, is rightly compared with Skr. *asthi* and Gr. *ὀστέον*, but wrongly with Eccl. Sl. *kostĭ*. The initial *k* of the latter is decisive against the supposed affinity; *kostĭ* is rather to be compared with Lat. *costa*.

72. *Par* is *s. v.* compared with *prae*; but the latter

belongs to a quite different group of words, cited in the article on it.

73. *Pariēs*. The note on this word is—'kindr. with Sanscr. pari-iyanta, margo : cf. Gr. *πέρας*, *πείραρ*.' It is true that Bopp explains *pari-e(t)-s* as a compound of *pari* (Gk. *περι*) with the partic. of *ί*, to go ; but what has that to do with the Gr. *πέρας* and *πείραρ* ? The relations of these latter words are quite different.

74. *Parvus* is compared not only with *παῦρος* and *paucus*, but with *parum* and *parcus*. But the latter words must be separated from the former. How can *parum* be cognate with *παύω*, which L. & S. connect with *paucus* ?

75. *Paxillus* is, on *pālus*, rightly described as dimin. of the latter word (cf. *māla*, *maxilla*) ; whilst *s. v.* it appears to be treated as borrowed from *πάσσαλος*. But the real Latin loan-word from *πάσσαλος* is *pessulus*.

76. *Polio* is treated, in the article on *deleo*, as a compound, the second element of which is identical with *le* in *deleo*, and with *li* in *lino* ; but, *s. v.*, it is said to be 'from root *par* in *pārere*, *appārere*.' Both accounts cannot be correct.

77. *Porto* is said to be 'for *for-to*, kindred with *fero*.' But the root of *fero* is *bhar*, and Latin *p* cannot represent orig. *bh*. Curtius is no doubt right in connecting *porto* with Gr. *ἔ-πορ-ον*, *πορσύνω*.

78. *Praeda* is said to be 'for *praehenda* from *prehendo*.' We should say rather 'for *prae-hid-a* from the unnasalized root of *hendo*': cf. *ἔ-χαδ-ον* from *χανδάνω*. The same correction must be made on *praedium*.

79. *Praeputium* is explained as a hybrid word ; but surely its second element is from root *pu*, seen in *pu-be-s* ; the word means 'fore-growth.'

80. *Prehendo*. The second element of this is rightly compared with *χανδάνω*, but wrongly with the Homeric *γέντρο*.

81. *Pulcer* is (on letter C) spoken of as cognate with πολύχρους, but this absurd etymology is not repeated in the article on *pulcher*, which is there said (perhaps rightly) to be akin to *polire*.

82. *Quisquiliæ* is said to be probably from *quisque*, but it is plain that we should compare Gr. κοσκυλ-μέτια.

83. *Quoniam*. In the article on *etiam* we read 'cf. Gr. ἐτι, with ending -am, as in quoniam, nunciam, etc.' But on *quoniam* itself, that word is said to be from *com* = *cum* and *jam*. These accounts are inconsistent.

84. *Recupero* is, on *cupio*, connected with 'Skr. कृप, to be in active motion, to be angry'; but, in the article proper to itself, is made = *recipero*, and derived from *capio*.

85. *Rigeo, rigor*. The connexion of these words with *frigus* is said, under the latter word, to be doubtful, as it surely is; but when we look at the article on *rigeo*, we find that that word is 'prob. kindr. with ῥιγέω, frigeo.'

86. *Sacer*. As to this word, there is utter confusion in L. & S. In the article on it, it is said to be from root *sa*, and cognate with Lat. *sanus*; but on *sancio* it is derived from root *sak*, whence *sequor* comes. Further, in the latter place it is compared with Gr. ἅγιος, which is quite wrong, the initial letter of the root of ἅγιος being not *s*, but *γ*.

87. *Sarpo* is said to be cognate with Gr. ἀρπάζω, but *rapio* is *s. v.* given as the Latin correlative of that Greek verb, and is, perhaps rightly, compared with Skr. लुप-, Lat. *rumfo*, Gr. λυπή, which carries us quite away from *sarpo*.

88. *Serum* is said to be 'sibilated from ὀρός.' This is wrong; the *s* is primitive, and is dropped in the Greek word. Are we to say in a parallel case that *sudo* is 'sibilated from ἰδύω'?

89. *Servus* is, on *sero*, connected with Lat. *sero*, Gr. εἶρω, with which is compared Skr. *sar-at*, thread; but in the article on *servus* itself, the word is made to come from

a root *svar*, and connected with the notion of heavy, burdensome, as found, *e.g.* in Germ. *schwer*. These accounts are inconsistent. L. & S. do not cite *ἔρπος*, a word which seems to determine beyond doubt the etymology of *servus*.

90. *Sterto* they connect with Gr. *δέρθω*, *δαρθάνω*. The former of these two is an imaginary word, and *δαρθάνω* really goes with *dormio*, with which indeed it is compared in the article on the latter word.

91. *Stiria* (of which *stilla* is dimin.) is compared with Eng. *tear*. But *tear* has quite different affinities; it is really cognate with *δάκρυ* and *lacrima*, 'as indeed L. & S. say in the article on the latter word.

92. *Tabes*. It is stated on letter B that the *δ* in this word is a case of the interchange of *k* and *δ*. But *s. v.* the correct view is given that *-bes* is all suffix, as in *plebes*.

93. *Terebra*. On letter B this word is said to present an interchange of *t* (Gr. *τέρετρον*) and *δ*. But the right view is that, whilst the same root appears in the Greek and Latin words, the suffix is different.

94. *Tetricus*. In order to connect this word with *taeter*, L. & S. write it *taetricus*, or, when they write *e* for *ae*, mark the vowel as long. But all the poetical passages they quote show that the word is *tetricus*.<sup>1</sup>

95. *Tono* is, on letter *s*, connected with *στόνος* (*στένω*), but *s. v.* it is said to be from root *tan*, to stretch.

96. *Torqueo* is rightly compared with *τρέπω*, but wrongly with *στρέφω*. Phonology forbids the notion of a connexion between these two Greek words.

97. *Turgeo*. Not content with marking the real affinity of this word to the Greek *σπαργάω* and *σφριγάω*, L. & S. add *δργάω* as perhaps cognate. But such a connexion is

<sup>1</sup> Let me here remark that L. & S. *fōcula* in Plaut. *Pers.* 1, 3, 24, as repeat the old mistake of representing heteroclite plural of *fōculus*.

phonetically impossible, and a different account of ὀργάνω is given under *virgo*.

98. *Tus*. This word is not marked as *borrowed* from the Greek. But it is only on that supposition that we can explain the initial *t*, which cannot phonetically correspond to the *θ* of θύος.

99. *Urceus* is *s. v.* compared with Gr. ὕρχα, but on *urina* with *urna*, which is quite unconnected with the Greek word.

100. *Urna* is, on *urina*, compared with that word, which corresponds to Gr. οὕρον; but *s. v.* it is said to be from *us*, root of *uro*.

101. *Uterus* is *s. v.* wrongly compared with *udder*, which, on *uber*, is rightly connected with that word and with Gr. οὐθαρ.

102. *Vagina* is strangely compared with *vās*.

103. *Vas (vadis)*. No etymon of this word is given *s. v.*; but on *vates* it is compared with that word, and said to be perhaps kindred with Skr. *vad*, dicere. *Vates* is certainly not from root *vad*, which is rather cognate with Gr. ὑδέω, and the Germanic correlatives of *vas* make it plain that that word is really akin to Gr. ἄ-φεθ-λο-ς.

104. *Vello* is said to be 'probably akin to ἔλ-κω.' On *verro* it is compared with that word, and referred to a root *var*, whilst *sulcus* is *s. v.* compared with ὀλκός, ἔλκω. These accounts cannot be reconciled.

105. *Vesta* is *s. v.* compared with the Skr. root *vas*, to burn, but, on *vestibulum*, with the Skr. *vas*, habitare. Both accounts cannot be true.

106. *Vexillum* they rightly state to be 'dim. of velum.' But they derive *velum* from a root *var*, to cover, though it is plain from *vexillum* that *velum* and its root must have originally contained a guttural. See *ala*, *mala*, above.

107. *Viduus*. On this word the following note is

given:—‘Sanscr. *vidhava*, without a husband: cp. *ve-* in *vecors*, etc.;  $\eta\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , single.’ There is confusion here. The mention of *ve-* shows that Sanskr. *vidhavā* is regarded as a compound, with *dhava-s* (man) for second element, an etymology which, for a reason mentioned in Curt. *Etym.*, p. 38 n., must be regarded as very doubtful. But what I wish to observe is, that the comparison with  $\eta\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  implies that the root is *vidh*, and so is inconsistent with the derivation from *vi-dhava*. And, in fact, when we turn to the art. *divido*, we find it said that the root of that word is ‘*vidh*, to part, split, whence *vidhava*; Lat. *vidua*,’ an account quite at variance with that already quoted.

Many other erroneous statements might be cited, but these will suffice to show what an amount of revision in the matter of etymology the Dictionary of Lewis and Short requires. There is much, no doubt, that is good, even in this department of the work; but the materials are imperfectly digested, and there are evidences either of haste in the compilation, or, as seems more probable, of a want of sufficient familiarity with the fundamental principles of phonology.

In drawing up the present catalogue of errors, I have been led to go over again a large part of the *Grundzüge* of Curtius, and this repeated examination has confirmed the strong opinion I have long entertained of the great value of that work to the student. I advise all who wish to obtain a solid knowledge of the subject to make it their constant companion and referee. For those who are not German scholars there is available the excellent translation by Professor Wilkins and Mr. England. It is very probable that, on a certain number of points, the doctrines of Curtius will have to be modified in consequence of the researches of the younger school, of which I spoke above. But, as has been lately said, ‘all that is new in the most

modern systems comes from developing the principles of the older books.'<sup>1</sup> And Curtius's work will still retain its admirable educational efficiency, as habituating the student from the outset to the careful weighing of evidence, and, in general, to the practice of sane and scientific methods in dealing with Greek and Latin etymology.

JOHN K. INGRAM.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Snow, in the *Classical Review* for March, 1893.

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VIRGIL, *Aeneid* 3, 161.

Mutandae sedes. Non haec tibi litora suasit  
Delius, aut Cretae iussit considerare, Apollo.

If we compare 7, 290—

Moliri iam tecta videt, iam fidere terrae

(where some inferior MSS. have *sidere*)—it seems justifiable to conjecture that *confidere* is the true rendering here. 'It was not Crete Apollo bade you trust to; Crete the parent of liars.' If *considerere* is the true reading, *Creta* would be expected rather than *Cretae*.

A. P.

STEWART'S NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.<sup>1</sup>

IT has almost come to this, that for us Aristotle now,  
like Homer—

stat magni nominis umbra.

But as we may and do enjoy our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* without plunging into the Homeric controversy, which began by separating, and will end—if it ever ends—by completely disintegrating them, so we would gladly waive, if we could, all those obstinate questionings which promise little or no help in our efforts to derive from the Aristotelean writings some of that varied knowledge and wisdom with which they are penetrated. The writings of Aristotle—we shall continue to use the phrase—well deserve the respect and admiration which they have for many centuries commanded. Despite difficulties arising from corrupt texts—in dealing with which criticism has perhaps its best function—despite incongruities, sometimes amounting to contradictions, between the various works, and often within the compass of the same work, we find in them a treasury of thoughts upon subjects of perpetual interest. True, they are not to us what they were to our ancestors some centuries ago. In the departmental sciences the fame of Aristotle has long suffered eclipse. But, though in a restricted sphere, his works continue still to exercise a deep influence. Most of our philosophic, and many of our highest scientific, conceptions were formulated by him. From him we almost inherit the very language in which our loftiest specula-

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics Student and Tutor of Christ Church,  
of Aristotle. By J. Stewart, M.A., Oxford. 2 vols.

tions are expressed. He instituted Natural History and Biology. He established Metaphysics and Psychology. In Political Philosophy he grasped the value of the historical method at a time when History can barely be said to have existed. He introduced this method into Metaphysics as well as into Politics, and gave us our first History of Philosophy. Many eminent thinkers who know but little of him, and that little at second, or third, hand, would be surprised to learn how deeply, albeit unconsciously, they have themselves been moved by the spirit of the great Stagirite. No philosopher has ever shown himself more profoundly influenced by the idea of evolution; and even that of natural selection had occurred to him, as is admitted by Mr. Darwin on the first page of the famous 'Origin.' It is not with us as it was with Hume who could write:—'The fame of Cicero flourishes at present, but that of Aristotle is utterly decayed.' This philosopher and man of letters, very imperfectly aware how much philosophy owes to the Greeks, commits himself to the following remark (Essay xxxix. 3):—'Though it be too obvious to escape observation that different ideas are connected together, I do not find that any philosopher has attempted to enumerate or class all the principles of Association.' It is now well known, however, that Aristotle, in his tract *Περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως*, undertook the very classification which Hume here speaks of, and with results differing but little from those of the latter, what difference there is being principally in Aristotle's favour. The body of writings traditionally called Aristotelean, and which we shall here, for brevity, speak of as those of Aristotle, notwithstanding their want of systematization, are, as we have said, a treasury, or rather a mine, of thoughts scientific, literary, and philosophical, of so much value that civilized men can never allow them to perish. Turning to these from the works of modern system-makers

is like passing from a trim garden to contemplate a scene of tropical vegetation, wild, indeed, and unarranged, but resplendent with colour, and luxuriant in its wealth of forms and species. It is chiefly, however, by his metaphysics and ethics that Aristotle now lives among us. In these departments—not of knowledge, unfortunately, but of speculation—being, as they are, most difficult because most concrete, and involving the consideration, not merely of things, but also of man, for over twenty centuries since Aristotle, generations of devoted students have laboured, and yet added scarcely anything of value to what he had bequeathed already. German and, more recently, English scholars have been diligently cultivating the study of Aristotle; and there is before us now one more proof of the interest possessed by the *Nicomachean Ethics* for our contemporaries. In Mr. Stewart's *Commentary*, which we have read with very great care, is discernible abundant evidence of the philosophic importance which he would attach to this treatise. His *Commentary* seems to be no mere effort of scholarship—of criticism and exegesis—but rather a labour of love, the tribute to a great moral teacher from his admiring pupil.

Mr. Stewart is an excellent Greek scholar, as any scholar who reads his notes will easily discover. He has a large acquaintance with the MS. sources of the text, having already published a description of the English MSS. of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. He is deeply imbued with the philosophic spirit. A dialectician himself, he possesses a thorough knowledge of modern philosophic systems, as well as those of ancient Greece, together with the ancient and mediæval commentaries relating to them. From such an editor—for so we may call him—bad work was not to be expected. The two volumes before us form a highly important contribution to the study of Aristotle in this country. They will be found especially useful by students reading for honours

in our universities. For this class of readers the work is, we think, best adapted, and for them, its author tells us, it is intended. But the notes are, in their general character, less critical and explanatory than philosophical. Mr. Stewart would seem to feel something of what we have expressed in our opening sentences. Though evidently a highly capable critic, he subordinates the critic's function to that of historico-philosophic exposition and illustration. Taking his work as it stands, we shall here consider it mainly in this, its primary, aspect. To deal with it adequately, even when thus limited, would require a series of articles, or far more space than we have at our disposal. We earnestly recommend readers interested in the philosophy, more especially the Ethics, of Aristotle, to read it, as we have done, for themselves.

It is not too much to say that one whose chief business lies in expounding Aristotle, should confine himself at first to discovering and explaining exactly the sense which the latter meant to convey. Only when this has been done can illustrations be profitably sought, at least from modern writers. Otherwise there is the risk of obscuring, not elucidating, the meaning of Aristotle. Perhaps he himself might be best made his own expositor. For, though the works ascribed to him have not all been written by one and the same man, yet in the main they are homogeneous, and belong to one school. We cannot, at all events, without the grave danger referred to, indulge every passing inclination to quote the modern authors, of whom we may be often reminded as we thread the ways of Aristotelean thought. We may be reminded of Hegel, of Spinoza, of Hobbes, or of Darwin; but we should, for the most part, repress the impulse to illustrate by quotation from any of these writers. All readers, particularly the junior students for whom Mr. Stewart's notes are intended, are more apt to be struck

resemblances, than by no less real, but much less obvious differences. The former usually lie upon the surface, but the latter deep down, belonging, as they do, to the basis and structure of the systems compared. If a commentator cannot always undertake to point out differences as well as resemblances, it is, we think, on the whole, in most cases wisest for him to restrain the instinct of comparison, rather than, by indulging it, to produce fundamentally wrong impressions. Mr. Stewart is at times so far from acting on this principle that he appears to read into Aristotle modern tenets which the latter, great magician though he was, never divined or dreamed of. For example, the conception of conduct as one organic whole, having an environment in which it plays, more and more inwardly organised, as well as better adapted to its environment, in proportion as it is of the sort to be called 'good'; this conception of conduct is familiar to us, but, notwithstanding apparent anticipations, it is substantially modern. And to interpret Aristotle's notion of τὸ καλόν or of ἡ εὐδαιμονία dogmatically in terms of it, is not simply wrong: it is preposterous.

Premising this, we shall glance at a few of Mr. Stewart's notes out of many upon which it seems to bear. On p. 39, vol. I. we read:—'It is one of the most distinctive points in Aristotle's ethical teaching—that it is useless to address the understanding (λόγος) until the passions (πάθη) have been brought into order. So long as a youth is passionately fond of a certain course of conduct it is vain to tell him that it is *wrong*. He will not understand what you mean; he will only feel that the course of conduct styled wrong is *pleasant*. *Right* and *wrong* have definite meaning only for one who is detached from the sway of his passing passions, and can regard them, and their objects, coolly in *relation to life conceived as an organic whole*.' We italicise the last words. In them we find what is a 'distinctive

point' of Mr. Herbert Spencer's, but assuredly not of Aristotle's, ethical teaching. Mr. Stewart proceeds (after quoting a few words of Spinoza):—'When the passions and desires have been *organised*, as it were, by the moral training which the state supplies, *i.e.* when *λόγος*, or proportion, has been thus effected among them, then the time has come to appeal to the consciousness of this *λόγος* which has now dawned in the man's mind.' Here a (possibly defensible) modern colouring of 'organic morality' is given to Aristotle's doctrine of *ἰσχυρός*. On page 43 we find the words:—'*προαίρεσις* aims at the preservation of the moral organism amid the dangers to which it is exposed in its environment.' On page 112, in a good note in which attention is directed to the implicit universality even of *ἡ ἀσθησις* or particular moral (or other) perception, Mr. Stewart says:—'It is to be remembered, however, that the channels of these later impressions—the organs of special sense—are themselves the results of long and uniform experience in the race.' Of course we are familiar with this teaching; but does it elucidate Aristotle? On page 171 we read:—'The Peripatetic doctrine of catastrophes, or *φθοραί*, whereby all except a few human beings were periodically destroyed, civilization having to begin afresh on each occasion, finds its parallel in Aristotle's theory of the growth of moral virtue, in which heredity is not recognised *sufficiently* by the side of habituation, or individual adaptation,' a criticism which, however valuable in a comparative History of Ethics, is simply *de trop* in this commentary; unless, indeed, Mr. Stewart intends to press Aristotle into the service of his own, or some modern, ethical theory. This he all but does on p. 176, where he says:—'Here Aristotle may almost be said to explain the formation of moral habits by the principle of the survival of the fittest—one of those very important passages in the *Ethics* which remind us that the author was a great biologist.'

On p. 205 we read :—‘The *ὁρθὸς λόγος* which the virtuous man preserves in all circumstances is “correspondence with his social environment.” It is a “correspondence” which “extends in space and time,” *i.e.* it is an adaption to the environment *as one whole*.’ In candour we must ask those who follow us to read the whole of the note from which these words are taken. It is a masterly ethical dissertation, but full of disputable matter, and—what most concerns us—tending to invest Aristotle with a mantle which does not fit him, and which he never dreamed of wearing.

Again, in a note (vol. I. p. 432) on the words *ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν διανομή*, Mr. Stewart says :—‘Any attempt to interfere with the wages or profits determined by free competition is an attempt to disturb a *γεωμετρικὴ ἀναλογία*, and to violate *τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον*. No such attempt can in the nature of things succeed permanently, its hope being not to change a merely conventional principle of *διανομή*, but *to defeat the law of the victory of the strongest*.’ Thus we find Mr. Herbert Spencer’s doctrine of Justice insinuated into the Ethics of Aristotle. Let anyone read Mr. Stewart’s note first, and then these words from Mr. Spencer’s volume on Justice (p. 60) : ‘Examination of the facts has shown it to be a fundamental law, by conformity to which life has evolved from its lowest up to its highest forms, that each adult individual shall take the consequences of its own nature and actions, survival of the fittest being the result. And the necessary implication is an assertion of that full liberty to act which forms the positive element in the formula of justice.’ In fact Mr. Stewart’s notes all through more or less echo these and such views of conduct. Mr. Stewart has a right to adopt, if he chooses, the Ethics of a modern school. We do not think he implicitly follows Mr. Spencer. But he has no right to present Aristotle to us through such a medium.

The Ethics of Spinoza play almost as great a part as those of the recent Naturalist school in Mr. Stewart's interpretation of the Nicomachean Ethics. Long paragraphs of Spinoza are quoted for purposes of illustration. A tendency prevails among certain theorists of to-day to construct their highest Ethical notions by combining those of Spinoza with others derived from the naturalistic theory of evolution. The former provides them with the Statics, the latter with the Dynamics of their system. Thus a fancied completeness is obtained. Many writers who see through the threadbare Metaphysics of mere Naturalists are apt to be content with supplying their defects by reference to the theories of some monistic school or author. We do not allege that the fact stands thus with Mr. Stewart, but we complain that in annotating Aristotle he continually brings us under the influence of such cross currents of modern speculation. We complain the more because there are times when his own perception of Aristotle's meaning seems to suffer by this. Let us take, for example, his note on the following passage (III. vii. 6), vol. I. p. 288:—*τέλος δὲ πάσης ἐνεργείας ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἕξιν· †καὶ τῷ ἀνδρείῳ δὲ ἡ ἀνδρεία καλόν†. τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ τέλος· ὁρίζεται γὰρ ἕκαστον τῷ τέλει. καλοῦ δὲ ἕνεκα ὁ ἀνδρεῖος ὑπομένει καὶ πράττει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν.* In his note he refers us to his paraphrase where the following words seem to be those bearing on the passage:—‘A courageous act, like every other virtuous act, realizes its own end when it shows forth the end for the sake of which its parent habit exists. *The habit of courage is a glory to human nature*: it exists for the sake of being a glory to human nature—to be this that it is, is its end. To show forth, then, the peculiar glory of courage is the end for the sake of which the courageous man faces danger and does deeds of courage.’ The words we have italicised refer to, but are surely not intended to

explain (not to say *translate*), καὶ τῷ ἀνδρείῳ δὲ ἡ ἀνδρεία καλόν, which means that 'the brave man *regards* bravery as a glorious thing.' But whatever Mr. Stewart intended, his elimination of the personal consciousness of the ἀνδρεῖος here has the effect of quite misrepresenting Aristotle. Self-consciousness is a cardinal trait in Aristotle's ideal man, whether looked at as σώφρων, or μεγαλοπρεπής, or μεγαλόψυχος, but perhaps most conspicuously when regarded as ἀνδρεῖος. In describing him under this aspect, Aristotle seems to speak with an almost personal degree of feeling. Life is to the ἀνδρεῖος full of happiness, and death is without hope, πέρας γάρ. While he bears like a man, he also feels like a man. Beneath the measured language of the sketch, there burns a tragic intensity not surpassed even in the Antigone. Life and death have no power to move the ἀνδρεῖος from his purpose, to blur his clear perception of τὸ καλόν, or divert him from his effort to realize it. He is unfaltering, but without illusions; all that he does and suffers, he does and suffers with a tragic intensity of self-consciousness. Mr. Stewart's note has the effect of putting this point in the background. By his reader the conscious effort of the ἀνδρεῖος to actualise the καλόν might easily be taken for nothing more than the *conatus in suo esse perseverandi*, which everything organic, and indeed inorganic, in its own degree, displays. 'To be this that it is, is its end.' Thus Mr. Stewart clothes the thought of Aristotle in a Spinozistic dress. 'Human nature is a beautiful organism, and to be beautiful is its *raison d'être*. So a plant or animal is its own *raison d'être*, &c. &c.' This is what Mr. Stewart calls 'the positive conception of Nature that underlies Aristotle's Teleology.' Mr. Stewart's interpretation is determined by the thought that self-consciousness, being to Aristotle as well as to Spinoza merely a 'mode,' may therefore be slurred over in an expository note. We

are, however, convinced that this is not the case. No one need tell Mr. Stewart that 'the habit of courage is a glory to Human Nature' is no true equivalent of τῷ ἀνδρείῳ ἡ ἀνδρεία καλόν. But why does he not translate these important words? The sense is as follows:—The τέλος of every individual ἐνέργεια is that of the ἕξις [which such ἐνέργειαι go to form]. But [just as to the σώφρων ἡ σωφροσύνη, to the εἰκαίος, ἡ εἰκαισύνη so] to the ἀνδρείος ἡ ἀνδρεία is καλόν [thus we see the force of καὶ]. To say, however, that ἡ ἀνδρεία is καλόν involves saying that its τέλος is so, since from the quality of the τέλος that of all τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος is derived. But if the τέλος of ἡ ἀνδρεία is καλόν, and every particular ἐνέργεια has the same τέλος as the ἕξις it goes to form; then, clearly, each of the ἐνέργειαι of the ἀνδρείος is to him καλόν. Hence—καλοῦ ἕνεκα ὁ ἀνδρείος ὑπομένει καὶ πράττει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν, i. e. he does *each* of the trying acts, and submits to *each* of the trying circumstances involved in ἡ ἀνδρεία, because he is throughout supported by the *consciousness* that *in each particular* he is realising τὸ καλόν. The importance of this to Aristotle's practical exposition is plain; for he tells us that the greatest difficulty with which the ἀνδρείος has to cope in action is that the particular circumstances of battle and suffering [the blows, wounds, &c.] tend ἀφανίζειν τὸ τέλος, so that, if a man be not interpenetrated with the spirit of ἡ ἀνδρεία—so as to be capable of reflecting, at each moment of acting or suffering, that he acts or suffers *now* τοῦ καλοῦ ἕνεκα—his ἀνδρεία is not a complete ἕξις, and he may, upon occasion, play the coward. But the feature which is thus most essential in the brave man's character as described here by Aristotle, and which should be brought most prominently forward by a commentator, is slurred or suppressed by Mr. Stewart, with the effect that the hero and the brute, the vegetable and the inorganic mass, may all forsooth be ultimately categorised together as 'performing the functions of their nature for the sake of main-

taining that nature in perfection,' or, *in suo esse perseverandi causa*.

We cannot help referring to another note (*vide* p. 227, vol. I.), which further illustrates on this side Mr. Stewart's method of explaining Aristotle: 'This is Aristotle's Theory of Freedom. It is as subject of a *libera necessitas*—to employ Spinoza's powerful phrase—that we must conceive the free agent.' The whole note exhibits the reflective power of Mr. Stewart, but, at the same time, makes one feel that the light in which he would have us read Aristotle is not a 'dry' light. And when he says 'the individual's character is itself, as we now believe, the necessary product of the universe,' he uses a form of expression which is not only un-Aristotelean, but—what was less to be expected—uncritical. Why, indeed, should *we* (as well as Mr. Stewart) 'believe that an individual's character is the necessary product of the universe'? What is the sense of calling it a *product*, and a *necessary* product, of the *universe*? To say what Mr. Stewart means by 'universe' is not easy. If he means 'nature,' or even an undifferentiated ether, then 'character' is not a product of it; and if this, or something of the sort, is not meant by the word, we much fear it is only uncritically abused. We demur to Mr. Stewart's axiomatic statement. Let *him* believe what he says, if he can understand it. For our part we as little like to have such questionable axioms thrust upon ourselves as to see them foisted upon Aristotle.

Mr. Stewart's suggestions for the improvement of the text have generally the merit of simplicity, and of making the sense easier. For example his proposal to read μηθὲν ἀν αντιπαθεῖν for μηθὲν ἀν παθεῖν (II. viii. 13) where the MSS. have μηθὲν ἀντιπαθεῖν is good from every point of view. In a note on VI. ix. 4, he says:—'The description of the ἀκαρῆς here, as employing λογισμός for the attainment of a bad end, is not consistent with the account given of him in

E. N. vii., and answers rather to the ἀκόλαστος.' This is true, but if the difficulty arising from it were great we could easily mend it by a slight change. The words of the Greek are—ὁ γὰρ ἀκρατής καὶ ὁ φαῦλος δὲ προτίθεται ἰδῆναι ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τεύξεσθαι (Bywater). We might omit the article before φαῦλος. This would give one conception instead of two, and we might render—'the ἀκρατής, who is (or has developed into) the φαῦλος;' this last word being of course = ἀκόλαστος. The phrase thus resulting belongs to too common a type to need illustration, but may be compared with δεινοὶ καὶ πανουργοὶ of VI. xii. 9. Perhaps, however, it is better to make no change, but to suppose that the writer here for the moment treats the ἀκρατής as = the ἀκόλαστος. This would be surprising, indeed, if we did not reflect that in Book IX. the φαῦλος or ἀκόλαστος (referred to in the argument by which it is shown that the feelings of the good man towards himself are the same with or analogous to those he entertains towards his friend) is throughout no other than the ἀκρατής. For the *dictum* that the φαῦλοι are not in harmony with themselves breaks down in the case of the ἀκόλαστος, who acts viciously ὅτι δεῖ, who is not μεταμελητικός, and who, apparently, enjoys the complete approval of a thoroughly bad conscience.

We are sorry to see Mr. Stewart acquiesce in a false translation, and all the more, because, if received, it would destroy our last vestige of respect for ὁ μεγαλόψυχος. Among many curious observations concerning this extraordinary man, Aristotle makes the following :—διόπερ οὐδὲ κακολόγος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰ μὴ δι' ὕβριν. The translation preferred by Mr. Stewart is that given by Professor Jebb (Theoph., p. 35): 'unless it be to show his scorn.' But *pace tanti viri* we must express our decided conviction that ὕβρις does not mean 'scorn.' Besides, it is the very last attribute which Aristotle could have ascribed to ὁ μεγαλόψυχος, for he says—

χαλεπὸν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μεγαλόψυχον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἄνευ καλοκάγαθίας. In Attic speech, and in the language of Attic law, ὕβρις meant ‘a wanton outrage,’ or the ‘spirit of wanton outrage’—an act or vice impossible in the good citizen. Any translation, therefore, which imputes ὕβρις to the μεγαλόψυχος himself is not merely wrong but perverse. As Aristotle says, sect. 20 of this chapter, ὑπερόπται τε καὶ ὑβρίζονται καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχοντες ἀγαθὰ γίνονται. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐ ῥάδιον φέρειν ἐμμελῶς τὰ εὐτυχήματα ; so that ὕβρις might be a feature in the counterfeit, but not in the genuine, μεγαλόψυχος. Such being the case, we are left with the explanation of Coraes—εἰ μὴ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ὑβρισθεῖη. Unsatisfactory though this, too, is, it is not so objectionable as the other version. Mr. Welldon also, we observe, translates—‘except for the express purpose of insulting them.’

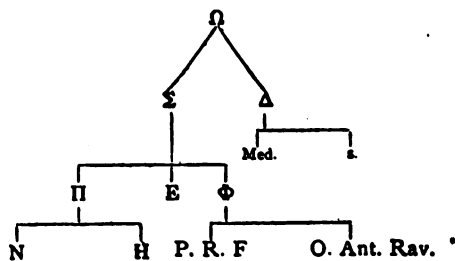
On the whole, but for the bias he shows towards filling up the chinks in Aristotle’s thought with material borrowed from modern sources, Mr. Stewart’s Commentary might be pronounced excellent. Even the exception we take to it, may not be taken by others. But we have a very decided opinion that any attempt to engraft upon Aristotle certain doctrines now in vogue, which may be briefly characterized as the offspring of Spinozism and recent evolutionism, is, even if otherwise legitimate, out of place in a Commentary intended for junior students. Of its legitimacy, too, we have the gravest doubts, though we must be excused from entering here upon the discussion of so large a question.

JOHN I. BEARE.

# ON SOME MANUSCRIPTS OF CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS.

**I**N a valuable work on the criticism of Cicero's Letters to Atticus,<sup>1</sup> published at the close of last year, C. A. Lehmann (pp. 20-49) has given an account of several manuscripts which are independent of the Medicean. They are:—1°, A Milan MS. of Excerpts from the Letters (E); 2°, A Florentine MS., containing i.-vii. 21. 1 (N); 3°, A Placentine MS., containing i.-vii. 22. 2 (H); 4°, A Turin MS. (O); 5° and 6°, Two Paris MSS., 8536, 8558 (P and R), containing all the Letters to Atticus; also a Vatican MS. (Cod. Urbinas, 322), containing all the letters (S), which is closely related to the Medicean, though not copied from it. All these MSS. contain other works besides the Letters to Atticus; but these need not be considered here.

These MSS. are arranged by Lehmann according to the following genealogy:—



F. is the Codex Faerni, used by Malaspina; Ant. is

<sup>1</sup> *De Ciceronis Epistulis ad Atticum recensendis et emendandis.* Berlin: Weidmann. 1892.

the Cod. Antonianus, used by the same scholar. Considerable importance is attached to these codices by Wesenberg. Rav. is the Ravenna Codex, of which Boot has given an account in the Introduction to his second edition. The codices denoted by Greek capitals are not extant.  $\Omega$  was derived from an original uncial archetype, which latter is also the parent of the original from which the Germanic MSS., viz. Cratander's (C. c), Würzburg (W), and the Tornesianus (Z) were derived.

The real study of the criticism of the Letters to Atticus has only just begun; and the extreme difficulty and uncertainty of the questions which it raises are so great that it will be a long time before any positively certain results can be attained. Accordingly it would be very dangerous to assert that the whole arrangement of Lehmann is to be accepted as final; and he would be the last person himself to claim for it more than that it be considered as a reasonable basis on which to work forward. But he certainly does seem to have established that there is a large body of manuscripts which are of equal value with the Medicean, and which are not derived from it, even though they are not very distant relatives. As this point seemed to me to be fairly well established, I looked through the five MSS. of the Letters to Atticus which are contained in the British Museum, according to the guidance afforded by Lehmann's work, in order to investigate how they are related to the classes  $\Sigma$  and  $\Delta$ , and record here the comparatively unimportant results of a hasty inspection.

The beautifully written Harleianus, 2466, is of no importance whatever, as it agrees in all essential respects with the same class as the Medicean.

More-interesting is the Harleianus 2491. It closely resembles the Hamilton MS. now at Berlin (B), which is the copy Poggio made in 1408 for Cosimo Medici. Whether

O. E. Schmidt (*Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der*

*Briefe Ciceros an Atticus, &c. in Italien*, p. 83 = 355) is right in considering it to be a copy of the Medicean in the condition in which it was left by Coluccio, or whether, as Lehmann holds (p. 161), its relation to the Medicean is quite uncertain, and not even approximately established, cannot be here discussed. All that is to be considered is how far Harl. 2491 agrees with B. Both codices omit Att. i. 18 (reperire) to 19. 11 (talis), and both possess the conclusion of Book xvi., viz. 16 B. 8 (perturbationem) to 16 F. 17 (etiam atque etiam rogo).

Schmidt and Lehmann give about 175 passages from the Hamilton MS. (B), and the following are the only cases in which Harl. does not agree:—

B	H
Brut. i. 4. 5, facies.	subicies.
9. 1, medicare.	medeare.
13. 1, tuamque in me.	tuam in me.
18. 6, arbitror.	arbitror.
Att. i. 1. 4, animum amici.	animum [amici]. <sup>1</sup>
14. 3, quem ego.	quae ego.
aristarchis.	αρισταρχης.
16. 11, melius nunquam B <sup>1</sup> .	melius inquam.
melius quam B <sup>2</sup> .	
12, expectatio in comitiorum.	expectatio [in] <sup>1</sup> comitiorum.
iii. 15. 2, scripsi.	scribo.
v. 14. 2, sumptus.	sumptu.

These are *all* the real disagreements in the passages cited by Schmidt and Lehmann. Put beside these such agreements as the following (which, it must be remembered, are only a mere sample):—Oct. 2 [post etiam . . . postulabit]; 6, paridem; 7, pecasse; Att. i. 1. 4, eliuu-

<sup>1</sup> Square brackets signify that the word is omitted.

asina; 12. 3, servulae; 13. 1, victum eis; 14. 5, commul-ticium; iii. 10. 2, tam extemplo statu; 15. 4, potuisti aut victores hodie vinceremus; 20, Cicero Attico sal Q. Caecilio Q. fratri pomponio attico; iv. 1. 1, te vere scribam; vii. 1. 7, non decrevit quasi; xiv. 17 A. 2, Nestorem habere mihi; 4, transtulerim quam; 7, quadam cum animi; xv. 1. 1, temperantem summum medicum; xvi. 7. 6, sit unde; 16. 11, [accessit . . . lata est]—and the close similarity of both MSS. becomes apparent.

It would appear that H follows the second hand of B, *e.g.* Att. i. 16. 2, iugulatum iri B<sup>1</sup> H, iugulum iri B<sup>1</sup>; 3, nequissimos B<sup>2</sup> H, quis summos B<sup>1</sup>; 13, in ad vi. B<sup>2</sup> H, madii B<sup>1</sup>; xvi. 16 B. 9, voluntate esse erga B<sup>2</sup> H, voluntate erga B<sup>1</sup>; 16 C. 10, ignoscere B<sup>2</sup> H, cognoscere B<sup>1</sup>. Yet ii. 18. 1, averes B<sup>2</sup>, haberes B<sup>1</sup> H.

Harl. 2491 is a parchment MS. containing Ep. ad Brut. I, ad Q. Fr., ad Octav., and ad Atticum. The clausula to the first book ad Brutum calls it Liber II, as does B.

The fine parchment MS., Additional 11926, bears date 1416. It is in double columns, and contains ad Brut. I., ad Q. Fr., ad Octav., and ad Atticum (up to xvi. 16 B. 8 magnam, where M stops); i. 18 and 19 are found complete. It has many corrections, and the original reading is sometimes quite erased. It often gives the same reading as the editio Iensoniana (I) of the year 1470, but more often a second hand has changed the original reading (generally that of the Medicean), so that it agrees with the reading which appears in Ienson's edition. But the first hand exhibits some very striking agreements with I, *e.g.* xvi. 6. 1, oportet pellicani et praestani sed et vibonensis; xiii. 37. 4, posse in diem tercium differri; xi. 10. 2, De Africanis quidem rebus; i. 5. 5, confectum; vi. 2. 5, inambulabam domi; viii. 4. 1, arcessi non; 8. 1, pararat; ix. 7a. 1, Pompeii id enim; 16. 2, ut rursus mihi; x. 8b. 1, a te peto; viii. 11d. 2, cum Theanum et Sidicinum; 11b. 2, tu Theano

Sidicinium (cp. Lehmann, pp. 51, 52); vi. 7. 2, esee; xii. 23. 3, et tu; xiii. 6. 3, poecis; 25. 3, partis in iis; xvi. 2. 6, domo mitto; 10. 2, Attice tota mente; i. 16. 6, status rei publicae; 16. 9, sententiam dicere; ii. 4. 7, quam unius aetatis; 22. 5, ex illo ipso intelligere; 24. 3, cum telo interfuisse; 24. 4, nil me infortunatius et Catullo (*Catulo* 1). Such passages as these, to which doubtless many more could be added, would seem to lead to the opinion that a MS. of this class must have had some part in the formation of Ienson's text, which has been the basis of most of the early texts, viz. the three editions of Ascensius (1511-1531), Cratander's edition (1528), and the Ed. Hervagiana (1534).

Burnei 146 is written all through by the same hand, and belongs (I think, but am not sure) to the fifteenth century. It contains the life of Atticus by Cornelius Nepos, ad Brut. I, ad Q. Fr., ad Octav., ad Atticum (down to etiam rogo), Ep. ad Fam. xiii. 77. 2 (Dionysius, servus meus . . . . arbitror); Att. i. 18 and 19 are complete. Towards the beginning it has many marginal notes, which are especially numerous in the Life of Atticus.

The Greek words are frequently omitted in the earlier books, rarely in the later ones. Almost always, even when the Greek words are omitted, a Latin version is given in the same hand as the text, and wonderful sometimes are these versions, *e.g.* Att. iv. 8a. 1 [εἴη μισητὸς φίλος οἶκος] is interpreted 'nisi menophilus,' Q. Fr. iii. 7 [οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας, &c.] 'Beata in lite obliqua iudicent iura in nocumentum impellunt deorum respectum non curantes.' There is a curious reading in Att. x. 1. 1, μὴ μὰν quid ille λογιωτάτως καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὅς ἀλλὰ μέγα ρέξας, &c., 'Sapientissime et nunc et semper sed qui magnum quoddam operatus et posteris audiendum.'

This MS. in Att. i. exhibits a very large number of agreements with the class Lehmann calls Σ, *e.g.* :—

Σ Burn. 146.	M.
i. 3. 3, hoc eo ad te.	hoc [eo] ad te.
4. 3, insigne.	[insigne].
5. 2, fuerit.	fuerat.
5. 4, rescribere.	scribere.
6. 1, par in hoc.	par [in hoc].
11. 3, nostrae academiae.	academiae nostrae.
14. 1, tamen ita.	tamen [ita].
1, vix huic.	huic vix.
2, ab se.	abs te.
5, facile ex altera parte.	ex altera parte facile.
16. 2, ut id ita.	ut [id] ita.
5, presidio.	prescio.
10, in aperto dicas.	dicas in operto.
13, tribulibus.	tribubus.
17. 2, animus et.	animus [et].
2, aut amor.	ut amor.
5, perspecta est et ingenuitas,	perspecta est [et] integritas ( <i>in marg.</i> ingenuitas).
6, quin.	qui.
7, aliquando ante te.	aliquando [ante te].
20. 2, civium.	cum.
3, illos viros.	viros illos.
4, scripsi ad te.	ad te scripsi.
7, labore temporis.	[labore] temporis.

From the second book these agreements with Σ become rare, and the MS. is virtually one of the ordinary M type, though perhaps these agreements with Σ should be noted:—

Σ Burn. 146.	M.
ii. 1. 1, me aliquanto.	[me] aliquanto.
iii. 15. 4, latere.	laetere.
iv. 3. 2, post hunc vero furorem.	post hunc [vero] furorem.
v. 1. 3, sumptus.	sumpta.
2. 2, laudari.	audiri.

13. 1, in modum.	[in modum].
vi. 7. 2, sed plane volo.	sed [plane] volo.
viii. 5. 1, ad te Dionysio dedissem.	ad te [Dionysio] dedissem.
xiii. 44. 1, cotta.	tota.
46. 2, a Tito.	attico.
46. 3, de cosineo doleo.	deos in iodoleo.

Quite the most interesting of all is Additional 6793, or rather the first 53 folia, for the rest of the MS. is a poor copy of the ordinary M type. It contains only the Epistles to Atticus (for I do not count the Epistle of Petrarch to Cicero, and two or three letters of the first book of the Epistles to Brutus, which are scribbled, not written, in a strange, straggling hand, on a few blank pages at the end, and continued on a few blank pages at the beginning). Now this fact that the MS. had not, in its original state, the Epistles to Brutus, to Quintus, and to Octavius, is most important, and would appear to separate it from the numerous manuscripts of Italian origin which we possess. The Greek was written by one who was completely ignorant of that language, and does not, as a rule, bear the very slightest resemblance to the words which it professes to represent, *e.g.* οἷαπερ ἡ δέσποινα appears as H H C O 2 M. The first 53 folia are all written by the same hand, but there is a certain disorder in what they contain. Fol. 7a to the middle of fol. 14a contains Att. i. 1. 1 to 13. 2, facie quam faceistimis sensibus, where in the middle of a page and word the copyist skips to v. 10. 3, intimis sensibus; ita multa. He continues Book v. to near the end of fol. 18b (exercitu, v. 18. 1), when he returns to i. 16. 9, ne aut ignorando. There is no further confusion within the first 53 fol., which end with iii. 15. 1, confirmatum. There is considerable further confusion in the later part of the MS., but that need not concern us.

That the early portion of the MS. bears considerable resemblance to the  $\Sigma$  class, the following list will show :—

$\Sigma$ Add. 6793.	M.
i. 2. 1, volumus.	voluimus.
2. 2, ineunte.	mense.
9. 2, dubites.	dubitaris.
9. 2, cures diligenter.	diligenter cures.
16. 10, in opto dicas.	dicas in operto.
17. 1, declarant.	declararant.
20. 1, [et] humaniter.	et humaniter.

In the readings given on p. 363 from i. 3. 3; 4. 3; 5. 2, 4; 11. 3; 16. 13; 17. 2, 5; 20. 3, 4, 7; Add. 6793 agrees with  $\Sigma$  and Burn. 146, against M :—

ii. 1. 1, me aliquanto.	[me] aliquanto.
6, atque [ita].	atque ita.
7, sint.	sunt.
8, et assensit.	[et] assensit.
4. 4, nimis.	minus.
7. 2, resalutare.	salutare.
15. 3, nihil certi.	certi nihil.
21. 3, noster amicus.	amicus noster.
24. 4, quam oratio.	que oratio.
iii. 6. 1, tibi meos.	meos tibi.
8. 1, esset.	est et.
2, conturbor.	conturber.
15. 1, obiurgas et rogas.	obiurgas [et rogas].
4, latere.	laetere.
v. 13. 1, in modum.	[in modum].
3, maximeque si quid.	maxime queso quid.
14. 1, interea tamen haec.	tamen interea haec.
15. 3, mihi rogata sunt.	ignota sunt mihi.

The following are some noteworthy readings of this MS. :—

i. 4. 3, quae mihi ante *ornamenta* misisti.] All other MSS. appear to read *signa*.

i. 16. 12, ut apud *iurantes* inquiri liceret.] The other MSS. give *magistratus*. This latter looks like a gloss on some word which named a special official. Could there be a reference to the *iuratores* who were officials under the censor, and had the power of demanding an oath from the taxpayer that he had made a true return of his property? cp. Plaut. Trin. 4. 2. 30; Livy 39. 44. 2; and Mommsen St. R. ii.<sup>2</sup> 349. The meaning would then be that the inquiry into the bribery should be held before commissioners empowered to demand sworn information. But this would require us to read *iuratores*, and that is rather a violent proceeding.

i. 17. 10, munitur a nobis quaedam . . . . via.] Other MSS. omit *a*.

i. 18. 5, quod habet *dicis causam* promulgatam.] This is the reading of the Tornesianus, teste Lambino.

i. 19. 4, qui P. Mucio L. Calpurnio cos. *publicatus* fuisset.] The other MSS. read *publicus*. The participle seems better as the verb is fuisset not factus esset.

i. 19. 10, Commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te: in quo si quid erit quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur non dicam, quod tibi, ut opinor, *Panhormi* Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se, quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, idcirco barbara quaedam et *σόλοικα* dispersisse.] So all other MSS. It is somewhat strange that the *place* where this remark was made should be specified. Our MS. reads quite plainly *pari modo* for *Panhormi*; then, *ut opinor*, as is more usual, will qualify *tibi*, the word it follows: 'I will not make the remark which in a similar manner Lucullus made, to you I believe it was, about his histories.' This variant is, perhaps, not quite satisfactory as a restoration; but it is a curious reading; and, as an emendation, quite beyond the capacity of the copyist of the MS.

ii. 1. 1, ut mihi aliis litteris *notificas*.] The other MSS. read *significas*, no doubt rightly.

*Ib.*, nisi eum lente ac *studiose* probavissem.] The other MSS. rightly read *fastidiose*.

ii. 5. 1, Cupio Alexandream reliquamque Ægyptum visere et simul ab hac hominum *societate* nostri discedere et cum aliquo desiderio reverti.] The Helmstadtiensis also reads *societate*; but there can hardly be any doubt that the usual reading of the majority of the MSS., *satiestate*, is right. These last three readings look as if the original from which our MS. was copied had suffered from the emendations of a scribe who possessed the dangerous quality of a little knowledge.

v. 16. 3, quod *e lege* Julia dari solet.] Most editors omit *e*; but it is found in some MSS. of the Σ class, viz. E N P; *ex lege*, H (= Cod. Land. in Placentia); *de lege*, M. These variants show clearly that the preposition should be read.

v. 18. 1, Bibulus nondum audiebatur *isse in Syriam*. The other MSS. *esse in Syria*. There are similar variants in Fam. xii. 4. 2, Fama nuntiabat te *esse in Syria* M; *isse in Syriam* Harl. 2682, Bodl. 244. The latter reading is adopted in Fam. by Baiter and Klotz.

Sometime soon I hope to be able to study these manuscripts more carefully, and to compare with them the readings of the early editions.

L. C. PURSER.

ON THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE ALLEGED  
AGAINST THE GENUINENESS OF ST. JOHN  
XXI. 25.

PART I.—*The Evidence of Cod. 63.*

ANONYMOUS scholia, of unknown date, appended in many cursive manuscripts to the concluding verse of St. John's Gospel (xxi. 25) cast doubts upon its genuineness. But these doubts appear to be grounded solely on the internal evidence of the verse itself.<sup>1</sup> It was not till Mill's great edition of the Greek Testament appeared in 1707, that external evidence was for the first time alleged against it—in the note *in loc.*, 'Versum hunc omittit U'sser. 1.' From Mill's, this statement has passed into many of the chief editions that have succeeded his—Wetstein's (1751), Griesbach's (1796), Scholz's (1830), Alford's (1849, and subsequent editions), and finally Tischendorf's (seventh) of 1859; all of which record 'Cod. 63' (as the MS. in question was designated by Wetstein) as omitting the verse in question. None of these editions, however, relied on the supposed evidence so far as to exclude the verse from their text.

The first person to suspect this evidence, and to expose its untrustworthiness, was the very eminent scholar to whom the textual criticism of the New Testament owes

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of reference I sub-join the verse in question as it stands in Rec., from which modern critical texts vary but slightly: "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ

ἄλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἃτινα ἐὰν γράφηται καθ' ἑν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. Ἀμήν.

so much—Dr. Scrivener. It occurred to him that Cod. 63, which he had never seen, might have lost a leaf at the end; and an inspection of it, made at his request by Dr. Lottner, then Assistant Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, verified his conjecture. In a note to his *Full Collation of Codex Sinaiticus* (1864), Dr. Scrivener made known (p. lix) the fact thus brought to light by his sagacity. On the authority of this note, Tischendorf in his eighth and last edition (1869) withdrew his citation of Cod. 63 as a witness against the verse; and (so far as I know) no editor has adverted to its supposed testimony since Dr. Scrivener's note was published.

It seems, however, to be worth while to state the facts of the case concerning the MS. in question more fully than has yet been done, and thus to secure that the error as to its testimony shall not be revived, or the correction of it set aside.

The MS. known to Mill as 'Usser. 1,' the 'Cod. 63' of Wetstein and all subsequent critics, formed part of the collection of Archbishop Ussher, and is now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, classed 'A. 1. 8.' No record exists of its history before it came into his possession, nor does it appear that any use was made of it in his time. It certainly was not collated by him, or under his eye (as was the Montfort MS.), for Walton's Polyglot. The first scholar to use it critically was Henry Dodwell, who supplied readings from it to Bishop Fell for the Oxford Greek Testament of 1675.<sup>2</sup> Mill's citations of its evidence were furnished to him by Sir Richard Bulkeley.<sup>3</sup> It has been usually set down as of the tenth century, but perhaps ought rather to be assigned to the eleventh, is written on vellum in a firm and clear cursive hand,<sup>4</sup> and consists of

<sup>2</sup> Fell, *Praefatio*. He cites it as 'u. 1.'

<sup>3</sup> Mill, *Prolegomena*, p. clx.

<sup>4</sup> Rather *hands*, for the scribe of ff. 182-210 is not the same as he who wrote the rest of the MS.

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238 folios (with one paper folio inserted after fo. 1),<sup>a</sup> containing the Four Gospels, with a body of notes in a smaller character, continuously surrounding the text on three sides, so as to occupy the upper, outer, and lower margins of every page. The first word of each of these notes is distinguished by a large capital letter in red ink. To this letter is attached, sometimes standing immediately before it, sometimes set on the outermost margin, a red numeral letter, corresponding to a like letter, also red, placed over the first word of the passage in the text to which the note relates. The accompanying reproduction of the last page of the MS., which is as exact as can be typographically produced, will sufficiently show the arrangement described.<sup>b</sup>

It will be seen that this page (the original of which is much disfigured by friction, stained, and faded) gives twenty-two lines of the text of St. John xxi., beginning in verse 18 (ὄραν δὲ γηράσας . . .), and ending with verse 24 (ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ). At first sight one might take it to be the conclusion of the volume, for not only is the last line of text a short one—short, relatively to the right-hand as well as the left-hand margin—but the last line of the

<sup>a</sup> For a description by Dr. T. K. Abbott of the first folio (palimpsest) of this MS., see HERMATHENA, No. X. (1884), p. 151.

<sup>b</sup> In printing this page I have followed the MS. strictly, retaining even its errors, as follows:—

i. *In Text.* (1) Line 1, γηράσας, 5 and 11, αὐτῶ, 8 and 11, τῶ, are written without ι ascript or subscript; (2) line 2, σπου without οὐ following; (3) line 5, ἀκολουθεῖ; (4) line 7, ὧς; line 13, τῶ.

ii. *In Commentary.* (1) Line 2,

κεινωνδν; (2) line 7, μέλλει; (3) line 14, ἀκουλούθως; (4) lines 17, 18, . . . εἶτο [the first letter seems to be β, the third, υ, after which a letter (or two) is illegible: the word probably was βούλειτο (for βούλοιο—cp. κεινωνδν above)]; (5) line 46, πιστήν.

In the *Text* there are a few contractions, which I retain; in the *Commentary* the contracted words are numerous, and such as to make the notes difficult to read. I therefore write them in full in every case except that of καί.

ὁπότε οὐκ ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ

τόμενος τὸ μακρόβιον τῆς  
ζωῆς αὐτοῦ φησὶν· ὅτι ἐὰν  
αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως

ἔρχομαι τί πρὸς σέ· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις τραϊανοῦ· ἀνευ τιμωρίας ἀπέθανεν

ἢ τὸ μῆμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν ἐφέσῳ μέχρη τῆς σήμερον· εἰ ἢ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ αἰθήμερον

μετέσθῃ· **Τ**ὸ οὗτος φησὶν· ἐξιόπιστον τὸν λόγον ποίῳ· ἢ δεύτερον τοῦτο ποιεῖ μαρτυρῶν ἐαυτῷ

ἐξιόπιστον αὐτὸν παριστῶν· ἔθως γὰρ ἡμῖν· ὅτ' ἂν σφόδρα ἀληθεύωμεν· μῆδὲ τὴν ἐαυτῶν

μαρτυρίαν ἀρνεῖσθαι δείκνυσσι διὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστὸν· τὸ ἢ πάντι τοῖς γεγονόσι παρῆναι μέ

χρη ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἢ μετὰ ἀκριβείας εἰδέναι πάντα· ἢ ὅτι ἄνωθεν κινήσεις ἦλ

θεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο· διὸ ἢ εἰκότως τὴν μαρτυρίαν εἰσφέρει· προκαλούμενος καθ' ἕκαστον

ἐξετάζειν τὰ γεγραμμένα·

**Δ** **Τ**αυτοῖς ἀποβουλευσάμενος τοῦτο φησὶν· ἐκ μυρίων γὰρ

θανμάτων· τὰ μόνον πρὸς πίστην ἢ ἀρετὴν

καὶ οἶδαμεν· ὅτι ἀληθῆς ἐστὶν ἡ μαρ

τυρία αὐτοῦ·



commentary is arranged in like manner. But in referring to the MS., and turning back a few pages, we find instance after instance of a like arrangement—text, or commentary, or both, ending with a similar and similarly placed short line where there is no termination of a book, or even of a section, indicated—sometimes even in the middle of a sentence. [See for example p. 462 (for text), pp. 454, 456 (for commentary).] Resuming our examination of the final page, we find reason to surmise that the short line of commentary with which it ends is a case in point, for it breaks off abruptly in a clause without a verb, its last words being (as Dr. Scrivener correctly states, on the authority of Dr. Lottner), τοῦτο φησὶν ἐκ μυρίων γὰρ θαυμάτων τὰ μόνα πρὸς πίστιν [MS. πίστην] καὶ ἀρετήν. And of the purport of this note, fragment though it is, we gather enough from its mention of ‘countless miracles’ to satisfy us that he had fair ground for believing that (as he says) the incomplete note ‘can only relate to verse 25.’ And finally, reverting from the commentary to the text, we perceive that it verifies Dr. Lottner’s statement, that a simple colon marks its close; whereas (as may be seen by reference to the last verse of each of the preceding Gospels in the MS.) the habit of the scribe is to conclude a book with a pair of points placed vertically, followed by a short horizontal stroke (:—).

The evidence, therefore, as Dr. Scrivener left it, proves that the MS. has lost a leaf at the end,<sup>7</sup> which no doubt

<sup>7</sup> An argument *ex silentio* is never conclusive; yet it seems worth while to remark that the absence of verse 25 is not noted in Fell’s edition, which fact may be taken to indicate that the leaf was not lost when Dodwell collated the MS. for him; else he could hardly have failed to record so important an omission. He enters the variants of

‘u. 1’ to the very end of this Gospel—the last entries being its insertion of οὐδὲν after ἐξήλθεν in xxi. 3, and its omission of οὐδὲν after ὅτε in xxi. 15 [wrongly entered by him under verse 13]. If this inference be adopted, it follows that the leaf was lost between 1675 and 1707.

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contained the completion of the interrupted comment, and supplied its broken last clause with the lacking verb. Further, it raises a strong probability that the comment belonged to the missing verse, and therefore (finally) that the absence of the verse is merely the result of the loss of the leaf.

But a further inspection of the page as here printed (which Dr. Scrivener never had an opportunity of seeing) shows that the evidence goes further than the facts furnished to him by Dr. Lottner enabled him to carry it.

For, *first*, the words τοῦτο φησὶν . . . . ἀπερίην, cited by him on Dr. Lottner's authority, are not, as he supposed, 'a fragment of a commentary, following the text after a small space,' but an integral part of a continuous commentary: which fact greatly heightens the presumption that it was carried out and completed on the lost leaf. And, *secondly*, the word preceding τοῦτο φησὶν is ὑπερβολικῶς (so nearly obliterated that Dr. Lottner seems to have failed to read it), which settles the point beyond controversy that the broken sentence relates to verse 25. It is indisputably the beginning of a note on the *hyperbole* (the only one that can be discovered in the whole book) of the verse which declares that 'the world itself could not contain the books that should be written' to record all 'the things that Jesus did.'

Accepting it then as proved that the incomplete note was continued on the lost leaf and comments on the missing verse, we see that the presumption that the verse itself was given on that leaf is raised almost to a certainty. Almost—yet not quite; for it still remains possible that the scribe, if he was an unintelligent man, may have mechanically here transcribed a comment relating to a passage which his text did not exhibit. But a further examination of the printed page shows that the arrangement of the text and commentary is such as practically to

exclude this possibility. In it, as in all pages of the MS., the notes are marked, as already stated, with numeral letters in red; and answering numbers, also in red, are set in the text at the places to which the notes severally pertain. In the page in question the text begins (as I have already said) in the middle of xxi. 18, but the first line of the commentary opens with a note, marked  $\bar{A}$  in the margin, relating to St. Peter's question (lower down, verse 21), *Κύριε, οὗτος δὲ τί;* and accordingly a blotch of red ink, which of course was once a corresponding A, may be seen above the first word (*τοῦτον*) of that verse (line 10 of text). The second note, marked  $\bar{B}$  in the margin, and beginning with line 16 of the commentary, treats of the misapprehension of our Lord's reply to that question, which prevailed among the disciples; and the corresponding B stands over the *Ἐξῆθεν* with which verse 23 begins (line 14 of text). The third note begins in the 7th line, reckoning from the foot, of the commentary, and deals with the attestation of the credibility of the narrator in verse 24. The  $\bar{\Gamma}$  belonging to this note is still faintly traceable on the discoloured margin, and the correlative  $\Gamma$  is plainly marked in the text, over the *οὗτος* (last line but three of the text), with which that verse begins. In the penultimate line of the commentary we find the opening of the fourth and last note, beginning as above stated with the word *ὑπερβολικῶς*; and before this word (as often occurs in other places of the MS.)—not, as in the case of the three preceding notes, on the margin—is inserted the numeral  $\bar{\Delta}$ . But in this instance no correlative  $\Delta$  appears in the text.

Now the careful accuracy with which the scribe, not in this page only, but throughout, has referred each succeeding note to its proper corresponding place in the text, proves that he worked intelligently. It is not

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supposable that he can have written and numbered this note without also writing and numbering similarly the final verse of which the note, when complete, was the exposition. The  $\bar{\Delta}$  in the commentary must have had a corresponding  $\Delta$  attached to its proper verse in the text, when the text was complete. We may therefore confidently conclude that the missing page, if recovered, would be found to contain verse 25, with the numeral  $\Delta$  marking the words to which the note  $\bar{\Delta}$  relates.

#### PART II.—*The Evidence of MS. $\aleph$ .*

When Tischendorf in his Greek Testament of 1869 acknowledged that MS. 63 failed him as a witness against St. John xxi. 25, he did so, no doubt, with the feeling that he could well afford to be candid in admitting its defection, in view of fresh external evidence which he believed himself to have found—evidence in his eyes so conclusive, that on the strength of it, in this his final edition of the Greek Testament, he has gone so far as to adopt the extreme measure of striking the verse out of the text, in face of the concurrent testimony borne to it by countless patristic authorities, all versions and all manuscripts, cursive and uncial alike, including (on *prima facie* view) his own, then recently discovered, *Codex Sinaiticus* ( $\aleph$ ). He persuaded himself, rightly or wrongly, that the verse in question, though in Cod.  $\aleph$  it duly follows verse 24, was written, not by the scribe who wrote the rest of the Gospel and of the N.T. in that MS., but by the *diorthote* (*διορθώτης*), or first corrector of the MS., who, by Tischendorf's own showing, not only was contemporary with the scribe, but was his collaborator—a scribe employed in the same *scriptorium*—and actually wrote some books of the Old Testament part of the MS. (Tobit, Judith, &c.), and twelve entire pages of the New (ff. 10 and 15, 28 and 29, 88 and

91). The reasons given by him for this judgment as to verse 25 were :<sup>8</sup>

(1) The colour of the ink—reddish, differing from the ashen-gray of the preceding text; and

(2) The more slender formation of the letters in general, and in particular the shapes of certain letters (A, K, T, Y, X).

In Plate XIX. (tom. I. of his great edition (1862) of the MS. [fig. 61]) he gives a facsimile of the last four lines of verse 24 and the first three of verse 25, in which the slenderness of the latter, though not (of course) the colour, is apparent.

These indications are in their nature very minute; and it may reasonably be urged that a conclusion resting on them can hardly be regarded as other than precarious. Tischendorf admits that the handwriting of the diorthote is difficult to distinguish from that of the scribe, and that it was some time before he perceived the facts he alleges, and was led to the inference he has drawn from them.<sup>9</sup> He lays it down, however, with absolute confidence—confirmed, as he states, by the assent of the persons (unnamed) to whom he had shown the MS.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, however, an important exception to this unanimity was made

<sup>8</sup> Textus totam per paginam cineraceum aliquid habet, additamentum vero subrufo utitur colore. Accedit maior quaedam litterarum gracilitas, levisque in nonnullis ipsius formae differentia, cuiusmodi in primis sunt K A T T X. *Nov. Test. Sinait.* (1862), tom. I., *Comment.*, fo. xxxvii.

<sup>9</sup> He says of the diorthote: 'quem toties ab antiquissimo textu distinguere difficile est . . . Unde factum est ut ipse aliquamdiu rem parum perspicrem.' *Ib.*, *Comment.*, *ut supr.*

Again, as to the ink: 'Correctiones omnium antiquissimae non ita multum a prima scriptura atramento differunt.' *Ib.*, *Prolegomena*, fo. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Nec mihi nec aliis quibus pervidendi copiam feci, ulla dubitatio remansit quin prima manus ultra verba η μαρτυρία αυτου [xxi. 24] non progressa sit, nulla quidem subscriptione addita, quemadmodum nec evangelium secundum Matthaeum habet. *Ib.*, *Comment.*, *ut supr.*

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known in the person of a critic hardly inferior to Tischendorf in experience, and in judgment at least his equal—Tregelles, who (as we learn from the *Addenda* to his Greek Testament) recorded his emphatic dissent, after personal inspection of the place in Cod. B, made in Tischendorf's presence.<sup>11</sup>

For the present, however, let us set aside the opinion of Tregelles, and defer so far to the great authority of Tischendorf, as to accept it as a fact that the scribe who wrote the Gospel of St. John in B, ended his task with verse 24 of chapter xxi., and that his colleague, the diorthote, wrote verse 25. What follows from this fact, if fact it be? Tischendorf's inference is, that the exemplar whence the scribe derived his text of this Gospel ended with verse 24, that he therefore stopped after writing that verse, omitting (for some reason unassigned) to append the subscription KATA IWANNHN (as at the end of the First Gospel he has added no KATA MATΘAION);<sup>12</sup> and that the diorthote supplied the lacking verse (25) from another exemplar—and with it the subscription, which likewise, the scribe had failed to add. If this inference is sound, it follows that Cod. B testifies to the existence, and records the evidence, of two Codices prior to itself; one of which, though not the other, omitted the verse in question.

But it is obvious that the inference goes beyond what the alleged facts warrant. Even if the scribe stopped

<sup>11</sup> Dissentiente Tregellesio, altero sub alterius oculis litterarum figuram et colorem scrutato. *Addenda* (1879), in *loc.*

<sup>12</sup> See note <sup>10</sup> (above). His conclusion is: 'Statuendum est eum qui hoc Iohannis evangelium descripsit, in exemplari suo extremos versus [scil.,

eight lines, forming verse 25] non invenisse proptereaque nec addidisse; suppletos vero esse ab eo qui eadem aetate totum librum recensebat ac passim ex alio exemplari corripiebat atque augebat.' *Comment., ut supr.,* fo. xxvii.\*

after he had written verse 24, it does not follow that he had before him an exemplar from which verse 25 was wanting; and even if verse 25 was written by the diorthote, it does not follow that the exemplar whence he transcribed it was a different one. For there is at least one other passage in the MS. where Tischendorf detects the hand of the diorthote, which cannot be supposed to have been absent from the exemplar used by the scribe, and supplied by him on the authority of a second exemplar. The passage is the opening of the Apocalypse (i. 1-5), which, on Tischendorf's own showing, was written by the diorthote;<sup>13</sup> and yet neither he nor anyone else has supposed that it rests on different authority from the rest of the text of that book. Why the diorthote should at that point of the work of transcription have taken up the pen of the scribe and written the first verses of St. John's Apocalypse, no one can now tell; and in the same way it is idle to guess why he wrote (if he wrote) the last verse of St. John's Gospel.<sup>14</sup> That the one ceased to write after

<sup>13</sup> At first he asserts this with caution, saying in his specification of the parts of the MS. written by the diorthote: 'nescio an apocalypseos initium addam . . . usque ad verba ο μαρτυς ο πιστος ο πρωτοτοκος των νεκρων.' But in a note he gives good reasons for thus assigning it; and further on he writes, without hesitation: 'Apocalypsi superscripsit [diorthota] αποκαλυψις ιωαννου, neque in prima quam scripsit parte hanc scripturam mutavit.' *Prolegg.*, fo. 8°. See also below, note <sup>16</sup>, where it appears that what he advanced as probable in 1862, had become certain in his mature judgment in 1867. It is, however, to be noted that the diorthote here comes in simply as a collaborator

with the scribe. In the Apocalypse there are no corrections such as appear in his hand, made apparently on the authority of an independent MS., in the preceding books. Of this book probably they had but one copy between them.

<sup>14</sup> This is the view taken by Drs. Westcott and Hort:—'It seems on the whole probable that the verse and its accompaniments [the arabesque and subscription] were added by the corrector; but it does not follow that the scribe A intended to finish the Gospel at verse 24, that is, that his exemplar ended there. Some accident of transcription may well have caused the completion to be left to the scribe D [the

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4. Because his exemplar contained no more, and another added verse 25 from a different exemplar, needless and baseless suppositions, undemonstrable argument and unconfirmed by evidence.

Thus, however, is by no means all. I proceed to show Tischendorf's alleged facts not only are unproved, but contradicted by evidence which he himself supplies.

It is to be remembered that his account is that the diorthote not merely wrote verse 25, but also subscribed it the final **KATA IWANNHN** and (presumably) inserted pen-and-ink ornament, or 'arabesque,' which here, as the end of every book in the MS., is closely attached to concluding words of the text, and immediately precedes subscription. And it was necessary to his position to attribute to the diorthote these marks of termination; for it is too great a demand on our faith to ask us to follow him in supposing that the scribe, after closing his work with verse 24, and leaving it to the diorthote to add verse 25, then resumed it and added the arabesque and subscription, or either of them. But he has failed to note two points in which these appendages to the final verse tell heavily against him.

*First*, as to the subscription. In it the Evangelist's name is written with double **N**; whereas one of the most definite notes by which Tischendorf teaches us to identify the hand of the diorthote elsewhere is the spelling of this name after the fashion of Cod. Vatic., with a single **N**.<sup>15</sup>

diorthote], who in like manner, if Tischendorf is not mistaken, yielded up the pen to the scribe A after writing two-thirds of the first column of the Apocalypse; for it is not likely that A would have left what he considered to be the end of the Gospel without any indication to mark it as such.' *New*

*Test.*, vol. ii., *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> On this point Tischendorf (in stating his grounds for identifying the scribe of Cod. Vat. with the diorthote (D) of the N. T. in Cod. Sin.) writes as follows:—'Accedit *iwannns* nomen, quo argumenti huius vis vehementer

So in the passage above referred to, the opening of the Apocalypse, we find *ἰωανν* in verse 1, *ἰωαννης* in verse 4, and *ἰωαννου* in the superscribed heading; and so too in all the remaining places, four in number, where the name occurs in leaves written (ff. 10, 29) by the diorthote: St. Matth. xvi. 14, xvii. 1, 13; St. Luke i. 13. On the other hand, the double **N** is found in all the numerous places (whether text, superscriptions,<sup>16</sup> or subscriptions) where it occurs in the main body of the MS. as written by the scribe; except once—in Apoc. i. 9, where the scribe, coming immediately after the diorthote who had written i. 1–5 and the heading, has followed the spelling of the name as it stood before his eyes, thrice repeated, in the hand of his collaborator. The spelling, then, with double **N** is distinctive of the scribe, for he adheres to it everywhere save in this one exceptional place; while the spelling with one **N** is in a yet stricter sense distinctive of the diorthote, who never once departs

augetur. Quod quum per quatuor evangelia octogies fere inveniatur, is qui plerumque scribebat nusquam aliter ac *ἰωαννης* scripsit; D vero quoties (*i. e.* quater) idem nomen habet, toties, ut Vatic. solet, *ἰωαννης* habet. Neque aliter scripsit primis quinque apocalypsis versibus [i. 1, 4] atque in eius libri superscriptione. Hunc vero scriptorem postquam principalis Novi Testamenti scriptor excepit, quinquies in textu et summa pagina [scil., xxii. 8, and four headings] solita scriptura *ἰωαννης* repetita est; primo tamen loco, *i. e.* i. 9, ad eam quæ modo quater [ter] præcessit et ipse suam accommodavit.' —*Appendix Codd. Sin. Vat. Alex.* (1867), p. xi.

Note that Tischendorf here admits, what in his earlier *Prolegomena* (p. 8\*)

he doubted, that the scribe and not the diorthote superscribed the headings of the Apocalypse, except the first. That heading stands directly over the first of the four columns of fo. 126\* (the column of which the upper part is written by the diorthote), and not, like the other headings, over the middle space between the second and third columns.

<sup>16</sup> Tischendorf, indeed, has expressed the opinion that 'omnes evangeliorum tituli (superscribed to every second leaf) ad manum D [diorthotæ] referendi sunt' (*Prolegg.*, fo. 8\*); and these headings, in St. John's Gospel, write his name with the double N. But this spelling, and also the facts as to the headings of the Apocalypse, as stated in last note, tell strongly against this opinion.

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from it. It is, therefore, in the highest degree probable, if not certain, that the subscription to St. John's Gospel, in which the **N** is doubled, was written by the scribe, and not (as Tischendorf imagined) by the diorthote.

*Secondly*, as to the arabesque. An examination of Cod. **N** shows that an ornament of this nature is found at the end of every book of the Old and New Testament; and that all of them conform (though with variations) to one or other of two well-defined types. The accompanying Plate will give a sufficient idea of them. One of these (see Group II. of Plate, where three specimens are given<sup>17</sup>) consists of two lines of wavy curvature, each continuous in itself, rudely representing two twigs or boughs (in some instances with a slight indication of branches or buds), laid one partly across the other, at right angles. The other (see Group I., where all the examples of this class, four in number, are reproduced) is made up of two series of discontinuous parts—dots, hooks, and the angular marks elsewhere used to fill up blanks or to note citations; and this type resembles the other only in that it has two arms at right angles. Now of these types the former [II.] is, in Cod. **N**, characteristic of the scribe of the New Testament and he never uses the other. The latter [I.] occurs but four times in all—twice in the New Testament, and twice in the Old. In the New, at the conclusions of the two books which end on leaves (29 and 88) supplied, on Tischendorf's own showing, by the diorthote—St. Mark and 1 Thessalonians; in the Old, appended to Tobit and Judith, both of which books he has pronounced, and no doubt rightly, to be written by the hand of the person who in the New Testament appears as diorthote. It is evident, then, that in

<sup>17</sup> The other arabesques drawn by the scribe differ little from those shown in the Plate [II.]; except that at the end of St. Matthew, in which each

branch is doubled, a second branch being intertwined with it, but in such wise as to be even more remote than the rest from the type of Group I.

GR

GROUP II.

(1)

(1)

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΥΚΑΝ

(2)

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

ΚΑΤΑ

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ

(3)

(3)

ΤΩΝ ΎΜΝΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ

ΠΡΟΣ

ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ

UOFM

11

12

these arabesques we have a criterion of the highest value for the identification of the hands of the scribe and the diorthote.<sup>18</sup> A glance at division II. of the Plate, where the arabesque at the end of St. John is represented [II., fig. 2], shows that it is of the first type—that is, of the usual and ordinary form which prevails throughout the New Testament (except in the places which belong to the diorthote), and which, wherever else it occurs, is invariably to be referred to the scribe and not to the diorthote. It closely resembles the arabesque attached by the scribe to the last line of the Gospel of St. Luke [II., fig. 1], or any of those which mark the close of any other book of the MS., Old or New Testament, with the exceptions above specified. In the face of these facts it cannot be maintained as an admissible supposition that the diorthote, contrary to his invariable practice, supplied the arabesque at the end of St. John, after the fashion peculiar to his colleague, of a type never used by him elsewhere.


I need hardly point out how the evidence of the arabesque confirms that yielded by the orthography of the subscription that follows it. It is conceivable that the diorthote, in writing the subscription of this Gospel,

<sup>18</sup> It is certain that Tichendorf at first overlooked, and it is probable that he never to the last fully perceived, the importance of the evidence derivable from these ornaments. In the earlier part of his great edition (1862) of Cod. Sinait., and all through his minor edition of the N.T. part (1863), he was content to let one or two rude representations stand for all of them; but at and after the close of 1 Maccab. (in the great edition) a sufficient reproduction of the form of everyone of them is given. Hence it happens that in its text the final arabesques of Tobit and Judith are wrongly shown as if they were

of the type of Group II.; but they are adequately represented in Plate XIX. [at top, right and left] at the end of tom. i. [and again in Plate at end of *Appendix Codd. S. V. A.*]. See tom. i., *Comment.*, p. 1\*. But in 1867 he wrote, treating of the points of resemblance between Cod. Vatic. and the parts of Cod. Sinait. written by D (the diorthote): 'arabescos quos vocant simillimis formis uterque adiunxit, quæ similitudo in nullum reliquorum Sinaitici codicis scriptorum [he supposes four in all] cadit.' *Appendix Codd. S. V. A., Prolegg.*, p. x.

should have varied from his usual spelling of St. John's name—as Tischendorf supposes him to have varied in superscribing the headings, and as the scribe has varied in one instance (i. 9) in the Apocalypse. But as regards the type of arabesque, we find that neither scribe nor diorthote ever varies. Since then the arabesque in the case before us is not the diorthote's but the scribe's, the same must be true of the subscription also; else we are forced to the absurdly incredible result that one man wrote to the end of verse 24, then another added verse 25, then the former attached to it the arabesque, and finally the latter concluded with the subscription. The only other imaginable explanation would be, that after the diorthote had written verse 25 and the subscription, the scribe resumed the pen and inserted the arabesque between them; which is, if possible, more unlikely.

It is clear, then, that Tischendorf was mistaken in believing the diorthote to have supplied the arabesque and the subscription. But as we have seen, this is an essential part of his account of the whole matter; for the character of the handwriting and the colour of the ink, which are the facts on which he rests, are, according to him, the same in the subscription as in verse 25. And, besides, as has been shown above, it is not possible to amend his theory by supposing that the arabesque and subscription, either or both, were subjoined by the first hand after the second hand had written verse 25. Nor (I may add) is it supposable that the scribe, after writing verse 24, inserted the arabesque at some distance below, so as to leave a space between, into which the diorthote interpolated verse 25; for it is the uniform practice of the scribe—and so far as I have observed of scribes in general—to place the arabesque or other concluding ornament as close as possible to the last line of the text, so as to preclude the possibility of such interpolation.



We return then to examine Tischendorf's facsimile of verses 24 and 25, with our confidence in his judgment seriously shaken by the proof of his mistake as to the subscription. The evidence of the handwriting, as represented by it, is weak and doubtful: it fails to convince us of the soundness of his opinion, and leaves us free to believe that Tregelles was right when he disputed the verdict of the great critic, and attributed (as we are told) the slight variation in the shape and tint of the letters that compose the last verse and the subscription to a change, not of the penman, but of his writing materials or instrument. It may well be—it seems even probable—that Tischendorf, in his final edition of the Greek Testament, has struck away from St. John's Gospel its concluding verse,<sup>19</sup> and that Gebhardt (so far as I know alone) has followed him in this violent measure, merely because the scribe of this MS., after finishing verse 24, stopped to change, or perhaps to mend, his pen, or by chance borrowed a dip of ink from the ink-bottle of a brother scribe!

However this may be, this Paper will, I hope, be admitted to have proved that the great uncial  $\aleph$  and the humble cursive 63 have alike been vainly adduced as witnesses of the spuriousness of St. John xxi. 25. No other testimony in that direction has as yet been found; and the result therefore of the inquiry is that external

<sup>19</sup> I am unwilling to seem to speak otherwise than with respect of the great work done by Tischendorf in the textual criticism of the New Testament, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that when (8th edition of Greek Test., *in loc.*) he sets down  $\aleph^*$  [*i.e.* the first hand of  $\aleph$ ] as omitting verse 25, and  $\aleph^*$  [*i.e.* the first corrector] at the head of the uncials which insert it, he applies his notation in a manner that is unfair and misleading. In no other

instance does he use  $\aleph^*$  as the designation of the MS. with regard to any of the portions which, though written by the diorthote, form part of the text, and are not on the margin merely—such as the parts of St. Matthew xvi.-xviii., xxiv.-xxvi.; of St. Mark xv., xvi., of St. Luke, i.; of 1 Thess. ii.-v. and Heb. iv.-viii., which are contained in ff. 10, 15; 28, 29; 88, 91; and the opening (i. 1-5) of the Apocalypse. Such portions are with him  $\aleph$  merely.

evidence against the authenticity of the verse there is NONE.

In conclusion, I have but to add that none of the scholia which treat of the doubts expressed as to the genuineness of St. John xxi. in general, or of verses 24 and 25—or of 25 only—in particular, gives the least hint that the writer knew of any documentary evidence against the chapter, or any part of it. These scholia are evidently mere guesswork founded on the supplementary character which the chapter undoubtedly seems, *prima facie*, to present—and on the internal evidence that verse 24 was written, not by the author of the Gospel, but of him, by those who say οἱ δαμην—and finally on the supposed un-Johannine hyperbole of verse 25.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The note of Barhebraeus, cited from Nestle's *Theol. Literatur* by Drs. Westcott and Hort (*ut supr.*), is apparently derived by him from a MS., or MSS., containing a similar scholion.

There seems no reason to attach more weight to his authorities than to the numerous ones which we possess; for it is not likely that a Mesopotamian writer of the 13th century had in his hands any Greek documents of high

antiquity or value. The Commentary of Barhebraeus on St John, whence this note is extracted, is part of his *Thesaurus Mysteriorum*, and has been printed by Schwartz (Göttingen, 1878).

The note referred to relates to verse 25, and is as follows:—'Some say that these words are not the Evangelist's, like the passage narrating how the angel at certain seasons troubled the water.'

JOHN GWYNN.



THE VULGATE OF ST. LUKE.<sup>1</sup>

WE have now got the third instalment of Bishop Wordsworth's edition of the Vulgate, and the fourth (completing the Gospels) is announced as nearly ready. The scope of this great undertaking has been described before in the pages of HERMATHENA, and it is therefore unnecessary to dwell upon its general features. Suffice it to say that the same wide learning, critical acumen, and patient labour which were bestowed upon the previous volumes are as conspicuous as ever in the third fasciculus which contains the Gospel according to St. Luke.

On the last page the editors give a list of some of the more remarkable of Jerome's renderings of the Greek text. As instances of 'Ignauia Hieronymiana' they note *existimante* as a translation of *προσδοκῶντος* in Luke iii. 15; the rendering of *ἀνάγκη* in xxi. 23, and of *συνοχή* two verses lower down, by the same word, *pressura*; and, an even more curious instance, the double employment of *circumdabunt* in xix. 43 as the equivalent of the distinct Greek words *περιβαλοῦσιν* and *περικυκλώσουσιν*.

The text of xxi. 33 is puzzling. Codex Brixianus (in company with the Book of Dimma and other authorities) read, *caelum et terra transibunt . uerba autem mea non*

<sup>1</sup> *Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit Io-* *hannes Wordsworth in operis societatem adsumto H. I. White. Partis prioris fasciculus tertius. MDCCCXCIII.*

*praeteribunt*. The old Latin MSS. used by Jerome seem to have read . . . *transient* . . . *transient*. Now the best MSS. of the Vulgate have . . . *transibunt* . . . *transient*; but our editors read *transibunt* in both clauses (with a smaller, though still considerable, number of authorities), and add the interesting remark, 'Hieronymum credimus ex incuria semel tantum correxisse, sed idem uerbum ambobus locis uoluisse.' That is, they suggest that Jerome wishing to correct the Old Latin, wrote *transibunt* in the first clause, carelessly leaving the second clause untouched; and they prefer to follow what he intended to write, rather than what he actually wrote.

Jerome's rendering of ἀπειθείς by *incredibiles* (i. 17) seems strange at first sight; but Rönsch in the passage of his *Itala und Vulgata*, referred to by the editors, has collected quite a number of instances in the Latin Bible of this use of *incredibilis*. That adjectives in *-bilis* are often used in this way—e.g. *dissociabilis* (Horace), *genitabilis* (Lucretius), and *penetrabilis* (Ovid)—is familiar; but I do not know any early instance of *incredibilis* = *incredulus*. The editors also call special attention to the improved rendering given by Jerome in xi. 53. The Greek text followed by Jerome's predecessors seems to have been: δεινῶς ἔχειν καὶ συνβάλλειν αὐτῷ περὶ πλειόνων, which appears in the Codex Brixianus (e.g.) in the form *contristari et altercari cum illo de multis*. Jerome, however, read δεινῶς ἐνέχειν with the best Greek MSS., which he translated by *grauiter insistere*, = 'to press upon Him vehemently,' as the Revisers give it. For συνβάλλειν he seems to have read ἐπιστομίζειν (a reading extant in three cursives), for which he wrote *os eius opprimere*. It is remarkable that the reading of the overwhelming majority of the best Greek MSS., ἀποστοματίζειν, is not followed in any MS. of the Latin New Testament; and the familiar rendering, 'to provoke Him to speak of many things,' of the Author-



ized Version, has its place in the Douay N. T. occupied by the words, 'to oppress His mouth,' a somewhat clumsy version even of the Latin.

In xxi. 26, ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου = *arescentibus hominibus prae timore*, 'men withering away for fear' (Douay). The explanatory note given by the editors is: 'ἀποψύχειν *rectius uertitur* refrigescere *ut in a*; *sed cum* ψύχειν *in LXX significet ad auras uel ad solem siccandi causa explicare uel expandere, ut II Reg. xvii. 19, Hierem. viii. 2, arescendi notio hoc loco accreuisse uidetur*; *cf. Num. xi. 32 ubi καὶ ἔψυξαν = vg. et siccauerunt.*' It is perhaps worth adding that we have in Homer the compound verb ἀποψύχουμαι used in this sense: ἰδρῶ ἀπεψύχοντο χιτῶνων (Il. xi. 621) = 'they got the sweat *dried off* their tunics.' The verb ἀποψύχω is common in medical writers, as Dr. Hobart has shown in his treatise on the *Medical Language of St. Luke*; but with them it generally means *to cool*.

In xvi. 23 there is a difficulty about the punctuation. From internal evidence, and from the best attested Greek text, it would seem that a full stop should be put after ἐτάφη. But the Latin text adopted by Jerome put the stop after ᾗδρη; and the Vulgate has, accordingly—

*et sepultus est in inferno  
eleuans autem oculos suos, &c.*

Bishop Wordsworth remarks that there is little doubt of the accuracy of the reading, καὶ ἐτάφη· καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾗδρη, &c.; but suggests that the second καὶ having dropped out by accident at an early date in some good codices, conjectural emendations, such as ἐν δὲ τῷ ᾗδρη, or ἐν τῷ ᾗδρη καὶ, were resorted to. The Greek MSS. known to Jerome adopting the latter reading, he followed it blindly. Augustine seems to have been conscious that the passage might be punctuated in either of the ways above indicated; for at one time (in a passage cited in our editors' note) he

adopts *sepultus in inferno*, at another closes the sentence at *sepultus*.

In xv. 8 a conjectural reading is admitted into the text. The Greek is *αποῖ*, and nearly all the Latin MSS. have *euertit*; but though to 'turn out the house' may be house-keeper's English for 'to sweep thoroughly,' *euertere* can hardly be the right word here. *Euerit* is the reading adopted by our editors, though (as it seems) without MSS. authority.

Another case in which the authority of the great bulk of the Latin MSS. has had to yield to the obvious rendering of the Greek text is xix. 37, where *τῶν μαθητῶν* is replaced by *descendentium* in most of the codices of the Vulgate. *Discentium*, though it has little diplomatic evidence in its favour, is here admitted into the text as being certainly what Jerome intended to write. The fact that *descendere* is commonly written *discendere* in Latin texts of the Irish school makes the error easier to understand.

Leaving out of account minor variations of spelling, the number of cases in which the text of St. Luke, printed by Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White, differs from the Amiatine Codex is only about 100, which by itself indicates the accuracy of this splendid MS. Two of its most obvious blunders are *illi* for *alter* in ix. 61, and *ascenderunt supra tectum* per tegulas et *summiserunt illum* in v. 19. As the editors remark on the latter verse, 'non potuerunt per tegulas ad tectum ascendere,' and we are safe in reading with the bulk of the MSS., *supra tectum* et per tegulas *summiserunt illum*.

There are a certain number of verses, however, in which the text of A has been abandoned, although it stands in respectable company; and it may be interesting to set down a few of these. The editors have adopted *dominus deus* for *deus* (i. 68); *nobis sic* for *nobis* (ii. 48); *uenit* for *ueniet* (iii. 16); *autem* for *etiam* (iv. 41); *aufert* for

*auferet* (vi. 29, 30); *perspicies* for *respicies* (vi. 42); *quam* for *qua* (vi. 49); *accumbebant* for *discumbebant* (vii. 49); *suscipiens* for *suspiciens* (x. 30); *porriget* for *porrigit* (xi. 12); *ipsum* for *ipso* (xi. 17); *operam* for *opera* (xix. 31); *et ad* for *ad* and *filios tuos* for *filios* (xix. 44); *in illa hora* for *illa hora* (xx. 19); *responso* for *responsis* (xx. 26); *uero* for *autem* (xx. 35); *occurret* for *occurrit* and *quam* for *qua* (xxii. 10); *enim* for *autem* (xxii. 37); *credetis* for *credit* (xxii. 67); *accusare illum* for *illum accusare* (xxiii. 2); *horam nonam* for *nonam horam* (xxiii. 44). It is worth observing, that in all the above instances the text adopted by the editors has the additional authority of the Book of Dimma, a copy of the Latin Gospels in the Library of Trinity College, no collation of which has yet been published.

It would take too large a space to give an account of the elaborate critical notes on the text of the *Pater Noster*, or on the famous verse xxii. 43. We observe that on a spare page at the beginning of this fasciculus the editors have printed the Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel found in the Book of Kells, which came under their notice since the text of that Gospel was published.

J. H. BERNARD.

## NOTE ON 2 COR. XII. 7.

FOR the following extracts from the writings of Galen, illustrative of the meaning of the word σκόλοψ as used by St. Paul in this passage, I am indebted to the Rev. W. K. Hobart, LL.D., whose knowledge of the Greek medical writers has enabled him, in his treatise on the *Medical Language of St. Luke*, to throw so much light on many passages of the Third Gospel and of the Acts.

1. In treating (*De Natural. Facult.* I. 14 [vol. ii., pp. 54, Kühn's edition]) of τὰ τοὺς σκόλοπας ἀνάγοντα κα], Galen writes:—

Εγὼ γ' οὖν οἶδά ποτε καταπεπαρμένον ἐν ποδὶ νεανίσκου σκόλοπα, τοῖς μὲν δακτύλοις ἔλκουσιν ἡμῖν βιαίως, οὐκ ἀκολουθήσαντα, φαρμάκου δ' ἐπιτεθέντος ἀλύπως τε καὶ διὰ ταχέων ἀνελθόντα.

2. Again (*Comment. in Aphorism. Hippocratis*, c. 25 [vol. xvii., pt. 2, p. 630]), describing the symptoms consequent on cutting teeth:—

Εὐλογον δὲ δῆπου διὰ διατετραμμένων τῶν οὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνιόντων ὀδόντων ταῦτα γίνεσθαι τὰ συμπτώματα καθάπερ ὅταν ἐμπεπαρμένος ἢ σκόλοψ σαρκί, καὶ πλέον γ' ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἢ τοὺς σκόλοπας τὸ τῆς ἀνίας.

These passages are but specimens of Galen's habitual use, and they show that if he had read the passage in which St. Paul writes ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, he would have understood it to mean, not a *stake*, but a *thorn*. The rendering 'thorn' in this passage has already been amply established<sup>1</sup>—by the authority of Hesychius, who gives ἄκανθα as an alternative equivalent for it; and by exam-

<sup>1</sup> See especially Elsner, *Observationes Sacrae, in loc.*, for references and examples, notably those from Artemidorus and Lucian.

ples from the LXX, such as Numb. xxxiii. 55, σκόλοπες (= *scopis*) ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς; also from profane writers, the most conclusive instance being that cited by Dr. Field (*Otium. Norv.*, iii., p. 115) from Babrius (*Fabellæ* cxxii.), where an ass, lamed by treading on a σκόλοψ, requests a wolf to extract the ἄκανθα from his foot. Yet the rival rendering 'stake' has been given as a marginal alternative by the Revisers of 1881; it is mentioned with distinct preference by Bishop Lightfoot in his *Galatians* (note on *St. Paul's Infirmary in the Flesh*—though Meyer, to whom he refers, takes the opposite side); and it is definitely adopted by Mr. Waite in the *Speaker's Commentary*, who understands St. Paul to compare his sufferings to those of a man *impaled* or crucified. It seems worth while, therefore, to call attention to the above passages, in which σκόλοψ means something that can be extracted from the flesh by medicaments,<sup>2</sup> something that causes pain similar to, but less than, the pain of cutting a tooth—a *thorn*, therefore (or possibly a splinter of wood), rather than a *stake*.<sup>3</sup> This being so, in the vocabulary of a medical writer treating of physical facts, it is reasonable to infer that when St. Paul, using the language of physical suffering, described his trial as σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, he meant to compare it, not to the terrible and deadly infliction of impalement, which the 'stake' suggests, but to the petty yet distressing and persistent irritation of the pain caused by a 'thorn' in the flesh.

JOHN GWYNN.

<sup>2</sup> I find that Dioscorides, *De Medica Materia*, ii. 209, attributes the virtue of extracting σκόλους to the herb *anagallis*.

lents, *spina* and *sudis*; Grimm renders *acuta sudis*; Thayer supplies the alternative rendering, adding Field's illustrations.

<sup>3</sup> Schleusner, *s.v.*, gives both equiva-

## CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

THE text of the *Argonautica* mainly depends on a Vatican MS. of the ninth century (always denoted by V), from which the other MSS.—all<sup>1</sup> dating from the fifteenth century—which need not be enumerated here, are derived. These later MSS. are invaluable in a few passages where leaves of the archetype have been lost; as the restoration of the text entirely depends on a comparison of the copies which were made while the lost leaves were still there. Thus vv. 146-185 in Bk. iii., vv. 439-476 in Bk. vi., vv. 322-359 in Bk. vii., vv. 136-153 and 366-385 in Bk. viii., are wanting in V, and we have to rely altogether on the fifteenth-century copies. As these copies present frequent and often considerable variations from V, criticism becomes difficult, and emendation very uncertain in the passages where V deserts us. Fortunately these passages are few and short. Again, in some cases, later corrections have obliterated words in V which were visible to the copyists of the later MSS. Elsewhere these later MSS. have hardly any value except in so far as they suggest emendations. Thus, sometimes, there is a lacuna in V which is filled up in some of the later MSS. Such a supplement has no authority; it is merely the conjecture of a Renaissance scholar; it may be good, or it may be bad; it must be judged as any other emendation. Thus in vii. 452 V gives

si tamen aut superis aliquam spem ponis.

C, the MS. of Carrion (which often offers good conjectures),

<sup>1</sup> There are also excerpts in a Paris MS. of thirteenth century.



supplies *in armis* and gives *sumptis* for *superis*. Now if we had reason to suppose that *in armis* had any independent authority, the obvious restoration of the line would be *superis aliquam spem ponis in almis* (or *aequis*). But as we have every reason to suppose that *sumptis in armis* is merely a wild conjecture of the copyist of C, I have no doubt that Schenkl was right in accepting Thilo's conjecture—

si tamen aut superis aliquam spem ponis *in istis*,

which is rhetorically more telling than *in almis* would be. I would account for the lacuna by supposing that the copyist of V found simply *spem ponistis* in his archetype, and corrected it to *ponis*. The omitted letters could readily have fallen out: *ponis inistis*.

For the restoration of the text, Heinsius has, perhaps, done more than any single scholar. His notes were printed in Burmann's edition (Leiden, 1724). In the present century, besides G. Thilo, C. Schenkl, and Bährens, whose editions are well known, Haupt, Madvig, and G. Meyncke, have made some valuable contributions to the critical study of the *Argonautica*. In England, Mr. Ellis is, as far as I know, the only scholar who has published anything of importance on the *Argonautica* (see *Journal of Philology*, xvii. pp. 52 *sqq.*, 1880). I did not read the notes of Mr. Ellis until the greater part of this Paper was written. I find that he has anticipated me in two of my conjectures; but I have allowed these to stand as they were originally written, noting of course his priority.

There is still a wide field for emendation in the poem of Valerius. There is far more to be done in the *Argonautica* than, for instance, in the *Thebaid* before we get anything like a final text.

## BOOK I.

99. iam stare ratem remisque superbam  
poscere quos reuehat rebusque in saecula tollat.

Burmamn's *in sidera* is adopted by Bährens, who makes the further change *quosque uehat*. Both corrections seem to me distinctly bad. They sacrifice refinements of idea and expression which Valerius was at some pains to achieve, and which the MSS. have faithfully preserved here. *in sidera tollere* was an everyday expression; *in saecula tollere*, suggested by it, but translating from space into time, was *exquisitius*. *reuehat* has a rhetorical point on which I have no doubt Valerius congratulated himself. Juno spreads the report far and wide through Greece that the ship in which fame may be achieved is ready. True, we may conceive men saying, there is a chance of winning renown if the quest prove successful; but there is also the chance that we may never see our homes again. *reuehat* forestalls this objection.

132. aequora delphin *corripit sedet* delecta in lumina palla.

Heinsius read *carpit, at illa sedet* (C supplying *illa*), which suggested to me *carpit, et ipsa sedet*, as *ipsa* might have more easily fallen out. But I find that Bährens had already emended *corripit, ipsa*, which may be right.

147. nigro Nessus equo fugit, acclinisque tapetis  
in mediis uacuo condit caput Hippasus auro.

I have no doubt that the text is sound. *auro* is a golden crater which Hippasus uses as a helmet. *uacuo* means 'emptied of its contents'; cp. Statius, *Theb.* ix. 589, *uacuorum terga leonum*, 'cleared of the internal parts.' As *acclinis* naturally takes a dative (cp. *Theb.*, x. 280, *acclines clipeis alios*), it is better to take *in mediis* (*viris*), 'in the midst of the combatants.' If the scene imagined vividly enough by Valerius were painted, Hippasus would be in

the centre: cp. in the same passage of the *Theb.*, 279, *coetibus* hos *mediis* uina inter et arma iacentes.

149. hec quamquam miranda *uiris* stupet Aesone natus, V.

Bährens reads *haec* quamquam miranda *nihil* stupet Aesone natus. Perhaps: *nec* quamquam miranda *nimis* s. A. n.

157. ualidis fixam *erigit* unguibus agnam.

So later MSS., followed by most editors. V has *uegit* (*ue* a manu sec.) The corrector seems to have intended *euehit*.

174. nec passus rex plura uirum. *sat* multa parato  
in quaecumque uocas (sc. dixisti).

This is the received text, and is mainly right. But V has *stat*. Read, therefore,

nec passus rex plura uirum*st*. *sat*, etc.

211. *sqq.* heu quanam aspicio! nostris modo concitus ausis  
aequoreos uocat ecce deos Neptunus et ingens  
concilium. fremere et *legem* defendere cuncti  
hortantur.

*legem* is clearly corrupt (*pelagus*, Slothouwer; *sedem*, Bährens). The correction is simple. Read—

premere et *regem* defendere cuncti  
hortantur.

‘Their king’ (Neptune) is precisely what is required.

230. plenus fatis Phoeboque quieto.

Bährens, *pacis* for *fat*is. But cp. Apollonius Rhodius, i. 140, *δεδαώς τὸν ἔδν μόρον ὀλωνοῖσιν*.

271. omnibus inde *uia*e calor additus P (cod. Vat. 1613).

An instance of a good emendation in a later MS. V has *indeme* (*uia*e, sec. man.). It is obvious how easily *uie* and *me* might be confounded.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *inde idem* is equally near.—ED.

## CAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

am scythicum metuens *potumque cretamque* V.

se number of suggestions have been made on none quite satisfactory. It is generally assumed underlies *potum* (especially comparing l. 345, *regisque marisque*), but the guess *potumque*, in a ninth-century MS., accepted by Thilo and Schenkl, certainly wrong, for it does not explain *cretamque*. ens' *pontumque petrasque* is, I think, unlikely, though he support it by Apollonius, i. 2. If V had *cretasque*, could be more probable. I would read—

deficiam a Scythicum metuens portumque fretumque.

am a is due to Bährens; it accounts for the corruption V, *deficiamus cythicum*.

489. panderet et pingui *miseros* Boebeide crines, V.

sus restored *mersos*, and Bährens completed the correction of the line by the simple and admirable *panderet*. For *mergere*, of dipping hair in water, cp., for instance, Statius, *Theb.* ix. 602, in omne nefas merso ter crine piauit.

482. Hagniades, felix stellis qui segnibus usum  
et dedit aequoreos caelo duce tendere cursus.

I suspect that in turning these lines Valerius was thinking of Virgil's *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*. The useful list of *Loci Vergiliani* given by Bährens at the end of his edition has been supplemented by J. Peters in his inaugural dissertation *De C. Valerii Flacci Vita et Carmine* (1890).

501. una omnes gaudent superi uenturaque mundo  
tempora quaeque uias cernunt sibi crescere Parcae.

This is generally explained as a bold hyperbaton, the construction being: una gaudent omnes superi Parcaeque quae cernunt tempora uentura mundo et uias sibi crescere.

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With Bährens, I think that this obscure construction is almost inconceivable. He writes *Enyo* for *mundo*, explaining, if I understand him, Enyoque (quae cernit) tempora uentura. Read—

una omnes gaudent superi uentura *tuendo*  
tempora quaeque uias cernunt sibi crescere Parcae.

It is obvious how easily *tuendo* might have been written *tundo*, and corrected to *mundo*, *que* being then inserted. The construction has an exact parallel in Statius, *Theb.* x. 556—

dira intus facies, uix Mauors ipse *uidendo*  
*gaudeat*.

*uias sibi crescere* is a happy expression for the enlarged sphere of action which the Fates will gain by the navigation of the ocean.

514. cederet his etiam et sese sine honore referret  
ulterius, sed nube rigens ac nescia *regum*  
stat super et nostros iam zona reuerberat ignes.

*regum* is quite pointless; and Schrader's *ueris*, adopted by Bährens and Schenkl, gives the right sense. But it is not satisfactory palæographically. *ueris* might readily become *regis*, but not *regum*. I propose to read—

sed nube rigens ac nescia *uerum*

a genitive plural of *uer*, which, as far as I know, does not happen to occur elsewhere. There seems no reason why *uer* should not have a plural as well as the other Latin seasons.

523. uidet e Graia nunc stirpe nepotes  
*et generos* uocat et iunctas sibi sanguine terras.

*en teneros*, Bährens, I cannot see why. *et generos uocat* means 'and he speaks of the Greeks (sc. *Graios*) as his relations': *gener* being used in a wide sense like γάμβρος.

528. adfremit his quassatque caput qui uellera dono  
bellipotens sibi fixa uidet *temptataque* contra  
Pallas et amborum gemuit Saturnia questus.

*laetataque*, Heinsius. Perhaps: *uidet*; *stimulataque*  
*contra*.

680. tantus nostras *concede* per urbes V.

*condere* Heinsius (so Thilo and Schenkl). But this does not give a satisfactory sense (*pandere*, 'thy fame will be spread,' would be better). Read: *ponere*, 'thy statues will be set up.'

699. nec uana pauet trepidatque *futuris*.

Bährens reads *futura*. The suggestion of Heinsius, *futuri*, is possibly right. Valerius may have ventured to combine with another verb implying fear a well-known construction of *metuo*, used by Horace and his own contemporary Statius (*Theb.* VI. 740, *metuensque futuri*).

702. saeuit atrox Pelias inimicaque uertice ab alto  
uela uidet nec qua se ardens effundere possit.  
nil *animi* nil regna iuuant.

Bährens stumbles at *animi*, and reads *famuli*. I believe that *animi* is right. The sentence is slightly zeugmatic; the logic and the expression do not coincide. The anger of Pelias is ineffectual, just because in this case his royal authority cannot help him. Or, from another point of view, it is a hendiadys. The commands (to pursue the enemy), which his passion prompts him, and his royal authority prompts him to issue, could not in this case be of any avail.

749. quin rapis hanc animam et famulos citus effugis *ast*

Bährens *ictus*. The correction is simple.

famulos citus effugis *ast*

<sup>1</sup> Is it not possible that *artus* is as the *sculptor* sound, and refers to the bodily limbs —E

## BOOK II.

28. torquentemque anguibus undas  
Sicanium *dedit* usque fretum cumque urbibus Aetnam  
*intulit* ora premens.

With Mr. Ellis, I think that *dedit* is very doubtful. He proposes to read *tulit* with Burmann, and in the following line *indidit*. It is an objection to *tulit*, in 29, that *abstulit* occurs at the beginning of 27. Schenkl defends *dedit* by Statius, *Theb.* i. 568 (where the participle *explicitum* however makes a difference). But whatever be thought about *dedit*, I suspect that *intulit* has taken the place of a stronger word, and propose—

*induit*, ora premens.

235. diras aliae ad fastigia taedas  
iniciunt *adduntque* domos.

*abduntque*, Burmann. *rogos* (for *domos*) Jacobs. Read—

*clauduntque* domos.

The women shut the doors of the houses to prevent their husbands escaping. This is supported by the following words:—

pars ignibus acti  
effugiunt propere, sed dura in limine coniunx

obsidet, etc. The men are either burnt alive within the closed doors, or if they manage to get out are waylaid by their wives.

335. haec antra uidetis  
Vulcanique, ait, ecce domos: date uina precesque.  
forsitan *hoc factum* taceat iam fulmen in antro.

Bährens, *ob sacrum*. Read: *hoc suasum*: cp., for example, Statius, *Theb.* iv. 453, *suasumque cruorem manibus*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But the simple suggestion *hoc* made before) seems to give perfect *facto* (which surely must have been sense.—ED.

400 CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

366. *deditque* ad litora *pondus*, V.

*tenditque . . . pontus*, M and edd. Read: *frenditque . . . pontus*.

386. bellator equus, longa quem frigida pace  
 † terra iubat brevis in laeuos piger angitur orbes †  
 frena tamen dominumque uelit si Martius aures  
 clamor et obliti rursus fragor impleat aeris.

*crura iuuant quique*, ed. Aldin.; *crura ligant*, Gronovius;  
*terga iuuant*, Heinsius; *nec in exiguos piger*, Burmann;  
*terra iuuat*, uix in laeuos, Thilo; *pergula alit*, *brevis in*  
*flexus* piger angitur orbes, Bährens. This is one of the  
 most difficult passages in Valerius. The conjecture of  
 Bährens *pergula alit* is very far from the MS., but, I think,  
 hits the required meaning. I propose—

longa quem frigida pace  
*cella iuuat*;

*cella* is used for the stalls of animals; here a horse-box.  
 For the rest of the line I have nothing better to suggest  
 than *uix in suetos* piger angitur orbes.

414. *pars* et frondosae *raptus* expresserat Idae  
 inlustremque fugam pueri.

Notwithstanding what Bährens has said, *pars* may be  
 right, though it is rather odd. One expects the subject of  
*expresserat* to be the same as the subject of *pressit acu*, in  
 l. 411. Still Valerius might conceivably have written  
*pars expresserat* for *in parte* (*picturae*) *expressa sunt*. If any  
 change is to be made, I should prefer that suggested by  
 Heinsius, *parte*. Bährens reads *contra*, but the origin of  
*pars* remains unexplained.

For *raptus*, Eyssenhardt emended *saltus*, Bährens, *tractus*.  
 But we may keep still nearer to *raptus*, and read—

*pars* et frondosae *pastus* expresserat Idae,

which suggests that Ganymede was a shepherd. If *pastus*

CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS. 401

was accidentally written *partus*, *raptus* in such a context was simply inevitable. For *pastus*, cp. Statius, *Theb.* ii. 328, *pastusque et capta armenta reposcit*.

453. uox attigit aures  
*febili succedens* cum fracta remurmurat unda.

*febile*, M (a Munich MS., a *man. sec.*), Thilo; and so Schenkl, adopting *ceu* (Schottus) for *cum*. Bährens gives *febilis ut scopulis cum*. But the words admit of a far simpler correction. Read—

*febilis, u'* cedens cum fracta remurmurat unda :

‘even as when a wave, broken on the shore, sends back a murmur as it retreats.’

455. adtoniti pressere gradum *uacuumque*<sup>1</sup> secuntur  
uocis iter.

Perhaps *caecumque*.

462. constitit Alcides uisusque enisus in alta  
rupe truces manicas defectaque uirginis ora  
cernit et ad primos *surgentia* lumina flectus.

Several corrections have been attempted. Schenkl gives *adsiduo turgentia lumina fletu*; Bährens *ad primos umentia lumina fluctus*. Read—

cernit et ad primos *uergentia* lumina fletus.

525. tum uero fremitus uanique insania coepti  
et tacitus pudor et rursus pallescere uirgo :  
proicit arma manu, &c.

*rursus* can hardly be right. Read : *et uisa expallescere uirgo*. Hercules saw the girl grow pale. These two lines are concerned with the emotions of Hercules.

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that *uacuum* is a reminiscence of ἀρὰ δ' ἔκρο φωνὰ of Theocritus?—ED.

## ICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

ut Siculum Libycumque latus stupuitque fragore  
*Ianus* et occiduis regnator montibus Atlans.

ers have tried to discover the name of a mountain in  
 Bentley proposed *Aemus*, Withof, *Taurus*. *Taurus*  
 certainly not unlikely, but it seems quite possible that  
 Atlas was mentioned, and that Heinsius may have  
 in proposing *canus*.

626. illius aras  
 urbe super celsique uident uelamina templi.

limina or *fundamina*, Hensius; *fastigia*, Burmann; *gesta-*  
*mina*, Bährens. Read: *caelamina*, 'the sculptures.'

642. non tamen haec adeo semota neque ardua tellus  
 longaque iam populis imperuia lucis eoae.

*nec loca*, Burmann; so Schenkl and Bährens. Keeping  
 nearer to the letters of *longa*, read: *non loca*.

## BOOK III.

62. adstitit et triplici pulsans fastigia crista  
*indi ciere uirum*,

of Bellona. *hinc ciet aere*, Bährens. Read: *inde cit aere*.

120. talis in arma ruit, nec uina dapesque remota  
 statque loco torus *in quo omen mansere ministri*.

*insomnes mansere ministri*, Bentley. I cannot believe that  
 this emendation, which appears in the texts of Thilo,  
 Schenkl, and of Bährens (under protest) is sound. It in-  
 volves a considerable change, and is distinctly flat. Read:

statque loco torus; inque omen mansere ministris,

the subject of *mansere* being *uina*, *dapes*, *torus*, mentioned

in the preceding clauses. The servants, from a superstitious scruple, let things stand, regarding the unfinished feast as an omen. (I arrived at this independently of the remark of Bährens: "et partem quidem ueri repperisse mihi uideor 'inque omen'; cf. Vergilius [xii. 854]" [*sic*], and of Mr. Ellis, who hit on the same conjecture.)

133. tollitur hinc totusque ruit Tirynthius arcu  
pectore certa regens aduersa spicula flamma  
per piceos accensa globos et pectus harundo  
per medium contenta fugit.

*pollice*, Ph. Wagner. Read: *flexo*, corrupted to *flecto*, *pecto* and then corrected to *pectore*.

206. nox alta cadentum  
ingentes *donec* sonitus augetque ruinas.

*duplicat*, Aldine; *denset*, Gronovius; *resonat* or *reboat*, Heinsius. Of these *resonat*, which we might modify into *resonit*, an archaism, is the best, palæographically; *ingentes resonit sonitus*. I am not sure, however, that *resonare sonitus* is a phrase which Valerius was likely to use. *donec* has all the appearance of an insertion made to fill up a defective line, and in attempting to restore we should not, I think, take it into consideration. I propose

*ingeminat tristis* sonitus augetque ruinas.

(i.e. *ingeminat tristes*). It is easy to see how easily this might have been written (*ingeminat tristis*) *ingeminatis* and 'corrected' to *ingentes*.

212. perge age Tartareae mecum *semel omnia* noctis  
Musa sequi.

*simul*, Aldine and Editors. *scelera omnia* or *molimina*, Heinsius. Read—

*simul ultima* noctis.

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events of the night." *ul* fell out, and *simultima* led to *semel omnia*.

tales *auditus*, ea gaudia fingit  
ra deum.

s; *habitus*, Heinsius; *animos*, Wagner; *reditus*,  
ulo, *gestus*, Schenkl; *ausus*, Bährens. Of these *reditus*  
s best in meaning; for the required sense is "success."  
Read—

tales *auctus*, ea gaudia fingit.

274. tunc super exangues *conseries* caedis aceruos  
praecipiti plangore ruunt.

*confertae*, M. C. and edd. I why not *consortes caedis*  
(nomin.), 'the sharers in the carnage'?

373. cum immemores famaеque larisque  
angimur? aut pariet quemnam haec ignavia finem?

*cur*, *vulg.* Perhaps *curnam*.

444. quin etiam truncas *nemorumque effigiesque* uirorum  
rite locat quercus simulataque subligat arma,

*nemorum*, Aldine, Thilo. Withof's emendation is brilliant.

truncas, *numerus* effigiesque uirorum,  
rite locat quercus.

I mention it here, in order to refer to a passage of the  
*Thebaid*, also a description of Stygian rites, which in-  
structively illustrates the corruption. Book iv. l. 455—

*trunca dehinc nemora aduoluunt.*

468. iamque ipse magister  
nutat ab arce ratis remisque obsistere *tend-*

apparently *tendit*, but the letters after *tend* cannot be read  
in V; Bährens *tentat*. But the meaning required is  
"urges." Read—

remisque obsistere *conciit*.

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The corruption arose from the common confusion of *c* and *t*, *ci* and *d* are also easily confounded.

481. iam summas caeli Phoebus *ardentior* arces  
iucerat.

*candentior*, later MSS.; *ardentior*, Bährens. Read perhaps:  
*Phoebus se ardentior*, 'unusually hot.'

511. quam Nemeen tot fessa minis, quae *belua* Lernae  
experiar?

*proelia*, Aldine ed.; *flumina*, Burmann, Thilo, Bährens  
(cp. ii. 496), *uolnera*, Ellis. Perhaps—

quae *sibila* Lernae.<sup>1</sup>

594. nunc ad ripas deiectaque saxis  
flumina nunc *notas* nemorum procurrit ad umbras.

*nec notas*, Heinsius; *nec motas*, Eyssenhardt; *totas*, Bährens.  
None of these corrections is good. Possibly there was a  
confusion of *c* and *t*:

nunc *caecas* nemorum procurrit ad umbras.

The woodshades were blind, and could tell him nothing.  
The corruption could have arisen thus:—*nuncaecas*, *nunc*  
*aetas*; then by correction *nunc notas*.<sup>2</sup>

613. iamque morae impatiens cunctantes increpat ausus  
Tiphys.

Bährens read *orsis* (= *verbis*) for *ausus*, which (like Peerl-  
kamp) he does not understand. But he seems only to  
contemplate *ausus* the participle. May not *ausus* be  
acc. plur.? and is not 'chides the lingering enterprise'  
a possible way of saying 'chides the crew for delaying in  
their enterprise'?

<sup>1</sup> or *belluae*?—ED.

banks, at another to the moving shadows  
of the wood.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Is not *nunc motas* possible? He  
rushes at one moment forward to the

CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

645.

rursum instimulat ducitque fauentes  
magnanimus Calydone satus ; potioribus ille  
deteriora fouens semperque inuersa tueri  
durus et haud ullis umquam superabilis equis  
rektorumue memor.

It appears to me that the two lines from *semperque* to *memor*, are an infelicitous interpolation.

667.

ut tibi Pollux  
stirpe pares Castorque manent, at cetera diuum  
progenies nec parua mihi fiducia gentis  
† et ego et quocumque uoces qua *tegmina* ferro  
*plura* metam tibi dicta manus tibi quidquid in ipso  
sanguine erit.

Two points, I think, have been established with some probability in regard to this corrupt passage—(1) *agmina* underlies *tegmina*, Heinsius ; (2) *plura* is corrupt : Bährens, who reads *rupta* with considerable probability. In his text the passage reads thus—

en ego eo quocumque uoles ; quaquagmina ferro  
rupta metam ; tibi dicta manus.

*eo* is due to Madvig. Perhaps—

certe ego eo quocumque *cies* ; haec, quagmina ferro  
rupta metam, tibi dicta manus.

But I am not sure that *eo* is certain. I rather prefer *egomet* (M) ; we must then read *sequar*.

en egomet quocumque uoces *sequar* ; agmina ferro  
rupta metam ; tibi dicta manus.

So Schenkl, except that he gives *uocas*, and *prima* (for *plura*).

BOOK IV.

130. reges *preme dure* secundos V.

*doliture*, C; *fremiture* or *haud doliture*, Heinsius; *spreture*, Bährens; *premit ille*, Schenkl (but not introduced in his text). Neptune is addressing his son Amycus, who is to be slain by Pollux. Read—

reges *treme*, *dure*, secundos.

The reverse corruption has taken place in Statius, *Theb.*, x. 606, where the Puteaneus preserve *prementes*, but the other MSS. have *tremantes*: cp. iii. 136, &c. But in xi. 532, Puteaneus gives *premunt*, where *tremunt* is right. *fremo*, *premo*, and *tremo* are frequently confounded in MSS.

174. haec ubi non ulla iuuenes formidine moti  
accipiunt dolet et *dura sic* pergere mente  
terga sequi properosque iubet coniungere gressus.

*dura stat*, with punctuation at *mente*; Burmann, Thilo. *durent si* Bährens. *uidet* for *dolet* (i.e. et uidet iuuenes pergere) Schenkl not badly. But *dura sic* is surely corrupt. I propose—

dolet, et, *durata* pergere mente,  
terga sequi, &c.

‘having steeled his heart to proceed.’

185. media ipsius arma  
sacra *mentuque* magnique aris imposta parentis.

*metu*, Aldine, vulg.; *specu* Heinsius. I suspect that a verb is concealed in *mentuque*; perhaps *sacra nitent*.

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301.    hoc saeuior ille  
          ecce iterum uacuas agit inconsulta per auras.  
          bracchia sentit *enim* Pollux rationis egentem.

*cum*, Aldine. *at ut*, Bährens. Read—

bracchia. *iam* sentit Pollux, &c.

This was written *bracchiam sentit*; then *bracchia sentit*, and *enim* inserted for the metre.

307.    sonat omni uulnere uertex  
          inclinis *ceciditque malis* iam tempora manant  
          sanguineaeque latent aures.

Heinsius saw that *malis* represented some part of *māla*. But his suggestions for the restoration are hardly satisfactory. Perhaps—

inclinis cedit, malae et iam tempora manant.

(For mention of the *malae*, cp. iii. 166, ossa uirum malaeque sonant). *inclinis cedit* = ‘he bends and gives ground.’ The following words *sanguineae latent aures* seem a very doubtful expression for ‘the ears are hidden in the streams of blood.’ Perhaps—

sanguineae *tabent* aures.

424.    noua cuncta uident Thyneaque iuxta  
          litora fatidici poenis horrentia Phinei.  
          dura deum summoque *suis* urgebat in aeuo.

*summoque lues*, Ald. and edd. I question this correction. *que* would be better away, and a relative connecting this sentence with the preceding would be an improvement. Read, with change of one letter—

Phinei,

dura deum summo *quem uis* urgebat in aeuo.

There is no necessity to change *dura* to *dira*, as edd. have done, following the *ed. Bonon.* I should notice that M *man. sec.* has *quae uis*.

564. *cum* uincula mundi  
 ima labant tremere ecce solum tremere ipsa repente  
 tecta uides ; illae redeunt, illae aequora *certant*.

*ceu—labent*, Heinsius, Thilo; and *aequore*, Ald., Thilo.  
*quasi—cum ima* and *aequora uertunt*, Bährens. Read—

*tum* uincula mundi  
 ima labant ; tremere ecce solum tremere ipsa repente  
 tecta uides ; illae redeunt, illae aequora *uersant*.

Compare below, l. 684, uelut mixtas Vulcanius ardor ahenis  
*uerset aquas*.

651. idem Amyci *certe* uiso timor omnibus antro  
 perculerat.

*mentes*, Heinsius; *uiso mentes*, Schenkl. Read—

idem Amyci *corda et*, &c.

674. 'Sequor o quicumque deorum'  
 Aesonides *uel fallit* ait praecepsque fragores  
 per medios ruit et fumo se condidit atro.

Thilo, after Sabellicus, gives—

Aesonides 'uel fallor' ait

which is surely impossible Latin. *nec fallor*, Peerlkamp;  
*nil fallis*, Schenkl (very weak); Aesonides '*ait*' *altus*  
 ait, Bährens. It seems to me that the text of V is  
 perfectly correct. Iason cries that he will follow the omen  
 for good or evil; he will not stay to think whether it be a  
 deception sent by a god. 'I follow, O whichever of the  
 gods'—not *ciet*, as Bährens wished, but, much stronger,  
*uel fallit*'—'even deceives me.' The full phrase would  
 be something like *uocat uel fallit*, 'calls me, or, if you will,  
 deceives me.' For the explanation of *uel*, 'even,' is a  
 suppressed clause.

## BOOK V.

53.     adsis umbra precor uenturi *praesagia* caeli.

*praescia*, Ald. and *edd.*, probably rightly. I thought of *uenti praesagaque caeli* as possible.

71. iam prora fretum commouerat et iam  
puppe sedens . . dimiserat anchora terras.

Perhaps : puppe *sedens tandem dimiserat.*

181.                        sic fatus et aegro  
corde silens audit currus (? cursus) bellique labores  
uirginei exciderit frenis quae prima remissis,  
semianimem patrius quam sanguine uexerit amnis.

quam uexerit amnis *in aequor*, C. Read—

exciderit frenis quae prima remissis  
semianimis, patrius quam *exanguem* uexerit amnis.

185. *populeos flexus tumulumque uirentia supra  
flumina.*

**Read : populeos *nexus*. Compare vi. 260 :**

populeae fidentem nexibus umbrae.

195. tu precor orsa regas meque his tuteris in oris  
tot freta tot *duræ* properantia sidera passum.

*tot duce te—passis*, Burmann; *tot cursu properanti s. passis*, Jacobs. Thilo suggested *cursu properanti s. passum*, which Schenkl adopts. Mr. Ellis suggested *brumae* for *durae*. I believe the correction to be much simpler. Read—

**tot freta *dura*, tot et properantia sidera passum.**

The corruption arose most easily from an accidental transposition of *tot*. Thus *tot* might have been omitted, written



in above the line, and then inserted by a copyist in the wrong place.

tot

(1) totfretaduraetproperantia

(2) tot freta tot durae properantia.

*tot freta dura et tot* would be also possible.

563.

incita cristas

aura quatit, uariis floret uia discolor armis,  
qualis ab Oceano nitidum *corus* aethera uestit,  
qualibus adsurgens nox aurea cingitur astris.

*chorus*, edd.; *uolucrum chorus*, Bährens. But it seems probable that the simile may refer to the rainbow. Perhaps—

qualis ab oceano nitet *arcus et* aethera uestit.

(*et aethera* would be written *etetera*, hence omission of *et*). But I think it rather more likely that *corus* was an insertion (not a corruption), and that a word has fallen out at the end of the line. Thus—

qualis ab oceano nitidum aethera uestit *Iris*.

The omission of *Iris* might be facilitated by the similar ending of the following line, *astris*. For *qualibus adsurgens* I should prefer *qualisue adsurgens*.<sup>1</sup>

## BOOK VI.

109. inde etiam par mortis honos tumulisque recepti  
inter auos *positusque* uirum.

The simplest correction is *posituque*. The dogs are placed in tombs among their ancestors, and 'with the burial of (like that of) men.'

<sup>1</sup> We should like to propose *eos*, gested by *ab Oceano*.—ED.  
'the dawn,' for *corus*. This is sug-

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256. impulit aduerso praeceps equus Onchea conto  
nequiquam totis reuocantem uiribus armos  
in latus accedit sonipes, accedit et ipse  
frigidus, arma cadunt, rorat procul ultima cuspis.

Perhaps—

in latus *ecce cadit* ; sonipes *super* accedit ipse  
frigidus; arma cadunt; *horret* (or *errat*) procul ultima cuspis.

265. nam forsitan iuncxit V. Why not *nam fors ita iussit* ?  
285. aut mecum mediam, iuuenes, agite ite per urbem  
Argolicamque manum aut *caris* occumbite *natis*.

Perhaps—

*dextris* occumbite *tantis*.

288. tua pectora nato  
suggere nunc animamque parem si fata peroso  
tarda tibi turpesque moras non segnius ipsi  
paruimus paruique *eam* didicere nepotes.

*uiam*, C., Aldine, edd. Read : *eadem*.

355. quemque sequatur  
*ille dies*.

*illuuias*, Haupt, admirably ; but possibly *diluuias* is nearer.

361. raptataque limite in arto  
membra uiri miseranda *meant*.

*madent*, Bährens. Read : *ument*.

375. iamque ibat in Harpen  
vixdum prima leni ducentem cornua neruo,  
*inlabentis* equi tendentem frena Menippen.

*et labentis*, Heinsius, Thilo ; *inque labantis*, Ald. Read —

in labentis equi tendentem frena Menippen,  
an asyndeton, which to my ear sounds effectively here.



381.            ille diu coniectis sufficit hastis,  
quin et iam grauior nutuque carens<sup>1</sup> exterruit Idam.

*quis grauior*, Pius; *cadens*, Ald., so Thilo.

quin grauior *motuque* carens.    (Schenkl.)  
quis *iam* iam grauior *nutansque*.    (Bährens.)

I propose

quis grauior nut < at nut > uque exterruit Idam.

Ida is one of the warrior women of Euryale. *et iam* and *carens* seem to be due to two different attempts to fill up the line.

385. procubuit tandem adque uigentem *protulit* urbem.

I wrote *proculit* in the margin of Thilo's ed., and since find that Bährens thought of this too, but reads *perculit* in his text.

417.    haut *usquam* Colchorum animi; neque . . .  
tela set implicitos miseraque in peste reuinctos  
confodiunt.

*exultant* Colchorum animi, Heinsius. *haut moti*, Bährens.  
Read—

haut *quassi* Colchorum animi.

After *neque* V has the last words of the following line *in peste* reuinctos. C gives *neque cura cauere*; Ald. *non inclyta dextris*. Before seeing the text of Bährens, I conjectured: *neque mittere curant* tela, partly suggested by the reading of C. The reading of Bährens gives a sense exactly the opposite: *neque mittere parcunt* tela.

443.    mutat agros fluuiumque uias; suus adligat igni  
cuncta sopor;

<sup>1</sup> For *carens* we should suggest *cavens*, himself (*cavens*) by his nod, and frightened off Ida by it.—ED.

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A description of Medea's magic power. Here we have not V's guidance; *igwi* is the reading of C. Read—

*suns adligat i/i*

*cuncta sopor;*

‘at her bidding.’

#### BOOK VII.

1. *te quoque Thessalico iam serus ab hospite uesper diuidit et iam te tua gaudia uirgo relinquunt.*

*et tua iam te*, Aldine. Read—*et iam iam tua*.

12. *quos ego cur iterum demens iterumque recordor tam magna discreta mari?*

*magno*, edd. Read—

*tam magno, a, discreta mari.*

21. *tum iactata toro tumque experta cubile*

*nimumque*, Ald., Thilo. Read—

*tum iactata toro totumque experta cubile.*

She tries to compose herself in every part of the bed. (This correction had been already made by Mr. Ellis, ‘Journal of Phil.,’ 1880.)

31. *ille autem iam iam uultus uocesque parentem ante aperit rumpitque moras.*

*paratas*, Pius, Thilo. *ante petit*, Ald. *ante capit*, Heinsius. *ante uenit*, Bährens. Read: *parantem ante premit*.

228. *patriam inde uocato qua redit itque dies, nec nos o nata malignis cluserit hoc uno semper sub frigore mensis.*

*malignus*—Phasis, Ald., Thilo. *maligna*—luserit—messis, Bährens, after Bentley, who read *nec nos dis nata malignis*.

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These changes are considerable. Read with very slight change—

nec nos, o nata, malignis  
cluserit hoc uno semper sub frigore *metis*.

The subject of *cluserit* is *dies*. Compare Ovid, Met. iii. 145, et sol ex aequo *meta* distabat *utraque*.

244. Perhaps: nulla quies animo, nullus sopor, arida *lingua*. There is a lacuna in V.

301. saeuus Echionia ceu Penthea Bacchus in aula  
deserit *infectis* per roscida cornua uittis.

Read *innexis*: cp. Statius, *Theb.* ii. 99.

sed falsa cucurrit  
infula per crines glaucaeque innexus oliuae  
uittarum prouenit honos.

333. haec dicens qua non uelocius ulla  
pestiferam toto nequiquam lumine lustrat.

Read—

qua non ulla ocior (*or* qua nil uelocius), herbam  
pestiferam.

I conjectured this before I saw the reading of Bährens—

qua non uelocius herba  
pestifera est.

341. hunc quoque qui nunc te crudelis Iasona nescis  
morte perire tua, qui te nunc inuocat unam ?

*qui nunc est* (= *uiuit*) Burmann; *qui tuus est*, Thilo; *cui nunc es crudelis*, Heinsius, Bährens; *qui nescis*, Schenkl.

Read, without any alteration in the letters—

hunc quoque qui nunc te—, crudelis, Iasona nescis  
morte perire tua, qui te nunc inuocat unam ?

In her excitement, Helen breaks off the relative clause to

the apodosis, the main point, sooner, and then  
 es her relative clause in the following verse.

355. cingitur inde sinus et qua sibi fida magis uis  
 nulla, Prometheae florem de sanguine fibrae  
 Caucaseum promit nutritaque gramina *ponti*  
 quae sacer ille niues inter tristesque pruinas  
 durat *editque* cruor.

M has *ponti*, C *ponit* (here we have not V). *uentis*, Haupt,  
 Schenkl. *sonti*, Ellis. *in gramine montes*, Bährens. Read—  
 nutritaque gramina *poenis*,

‘herbs fed by his pains.’ The next line explains—For  
*durat editque* I prefer on the whole *durat alitque* of Bulaeus.<sup>1</sup>  
 So Bährens.

389. et iam iam magico per opaca silentia Colchis  
 coeperat ire sono montanaque condere uultus  
 numina cumque suis auerti *collibus* amnes.

*uallibus*, Burmann. I think *collibus* is an error for *cornibus*.  
 Compare i. 105—

magnaue ratem per lustra uiasque  
 uisi laude canunt manifesto in lumine Fauni  
 siluarumque deae atque elatis cornibus amnes.

Statius, *Theb.* vii. 65. mugire refractis corniger Hebrus  
 aquis, etc. We shall then read—

*iamque* suis auerti *cornibus* amnes.

393. stupet ipsa graui nox tardior umbra  
 iamque tremens longe sequitur Venus.

I cannot understand this, for Venus is still conceived as  
 walking hand in hand with Medea; cp. l. 399, inde Venus  
 dextrae dilapsa tenenti. Read—

*iamque* tremens longe sequitur *Venerem*.

<sup>1</sup> For *ponti* we should rather read *potu*, and *ditat* for *durat*. Cf. Ov. Her. i: ‘Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine *dives* humus.’—Ed.

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Night is represented trembling at the passage of Venus. Compare Statius, *Theb.* ii. 59, where Sleep, driving the steeds of Night, shows his respect for Cerberus:—

Sopor obuius illi  
Noctis agebat equos trepidusque adsurgit honori  
numinis et recto decedit limite caeli.

The parallel is remarkably close.

507.                   siquid *tu* saeuus, V.

*tibi*, Burmann; *tu* is clearly an insertion. Read: si quid  
*quis* saeuus (from *queo*), or, siquid *sci*s saeuus.

BOOK VIII.

285. dixerat *atque* orans iterum uentosque uirosque  
perque ratis supplex *et remigis uexilla* magistris,  
illi autem intorquent truncis frondentibus undam.

Ruperti and Thilo: *itque* for *atque*, and *urguet remos uox  
alta magistris*. Bährens gives—

atque orans *iterat remosque* uirosque  
perque ratis *supplent regis verba* illa magistris

Both these changes are considerable and unscientific.<sup>1</sup> (Mr. Ellis suggests *supplex fremit et uox lata magistris*.) If anything is certain, it is that *uexilla* is a corruption of *uox illa*, and to this we must hold fast, as Dureau de Lamalle and Wagner did in their attempts to emend. In the next place it seems to me that *remigis* is the word

<sup>1</sup> Is it not possible that *vexilla* is sound, and means the *flags* by which Absyrtus's words are *signalled* to the

other ships? We might read: Perque rates supplent *regis vexilla* magistris. —ED.

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which has intruded itself into the unmetrical verse. I suggest that *remigio* or *remis* was written over *truncis* in the following line, as an explanation, and was pushed up, in a slightly corrupted form, into the preceding verse. The meaning clearly is that the words of Absyrtus, which could not be heard in all the ships at the same time, were repeated to each crew by its *magister*. Read—

dixerat ~~haec~~ orans iterum uentosque uirosque,  
perque ratis supplex uox illa < *iterata* > magistris.

remigio

[illi autem intorquent truncis frondentibus undam].

But I am inclined to suspect that *iterum* is a corruption of *circum*. Perhaps—

dixerat itque orans *circum*.

307. non *una* Minyae formidine surgunt.

non *uana*, Heinsius ; non *ulla*, Bährens (wrongly, I think, in sense). Read—

non *minima* Minyae formidine surgunt.

400. ille trahens genitum, tantis ac uocibus impar  
quamquam iura deum et sacri sibi conscia pacti  
religio dulcisque mouent primordia taedae  
cunctatur mortemque cupit sociamque pericli  
*cogitat*, haut ultra sociis obsistere pergit.

It seems to me that the order of the verses here has got wrong. ll. 403, 404 should surely precede ll. 401, 402. *cogitat* is also corrupt. Read—

ille trahens genitum, tantis ac uocibus impar  
cunctatur mortemque cupit sociamque pericli  
*dicit*, at haut ultra sociis obsistere pergit,  
quamquam iura deum et sacri sibi conscia pacti  
religio dulcisque mouent primordia taedae.

451. si Pagasas et Peliacas hinc denique nubes  
cerneret et Tempe lucentia fumo.

*uiridi* is supplied after *Tempe* in the Aldine, *nigro* in cod.  
reg. Thilo conjectures *uitreo*. Read—

TEMPE IAM PELLUCENTIA FUMO.

The iteration of the letters *mpe* accounts for the omission.

J. B. BURY.

ARISTOPHANES; *Equites*, 526.

εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶ ῥέυσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ  
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει καὶ τῆς στασέως παρασύρων  
ἐφόρει τὰς δρυὺς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμους.

THE form *ρέυσας*, though Aristophanes was hardly likely  
to use it, might pass muster; but here, before *ἔρρει*, it is  
simply impossible, as editors have generally recognized.  
None of the corrections proposed (see the note of Dr.  
Blaydes) is even plausible. Cratinus is compared to a  
river which has overflowed its banks. This is the point  
of ἀφελῶν; there are no boulders or hills in the plains to  
obstruct the waters. Therefore read—

πολλῶ ῥήξας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ.

*ρήξας* (intrans.) 'having broken his banks,' the *vox propria*.  
See Herodotus, ii. 99, of the Nile: εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας  
ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτη κ.τ.λ. (so metaphorically of an  
enemy bursting into a country, vi. 113).

J. B. BURY.



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